

LIFE AND WORKS
of
ABDUL QADIR BEDIL

by
Dr. ABDUL GHANI, M.A., Ph.D.

PUBLISHERS UNITED LTD.
176, ANARKALI, LAHORE.

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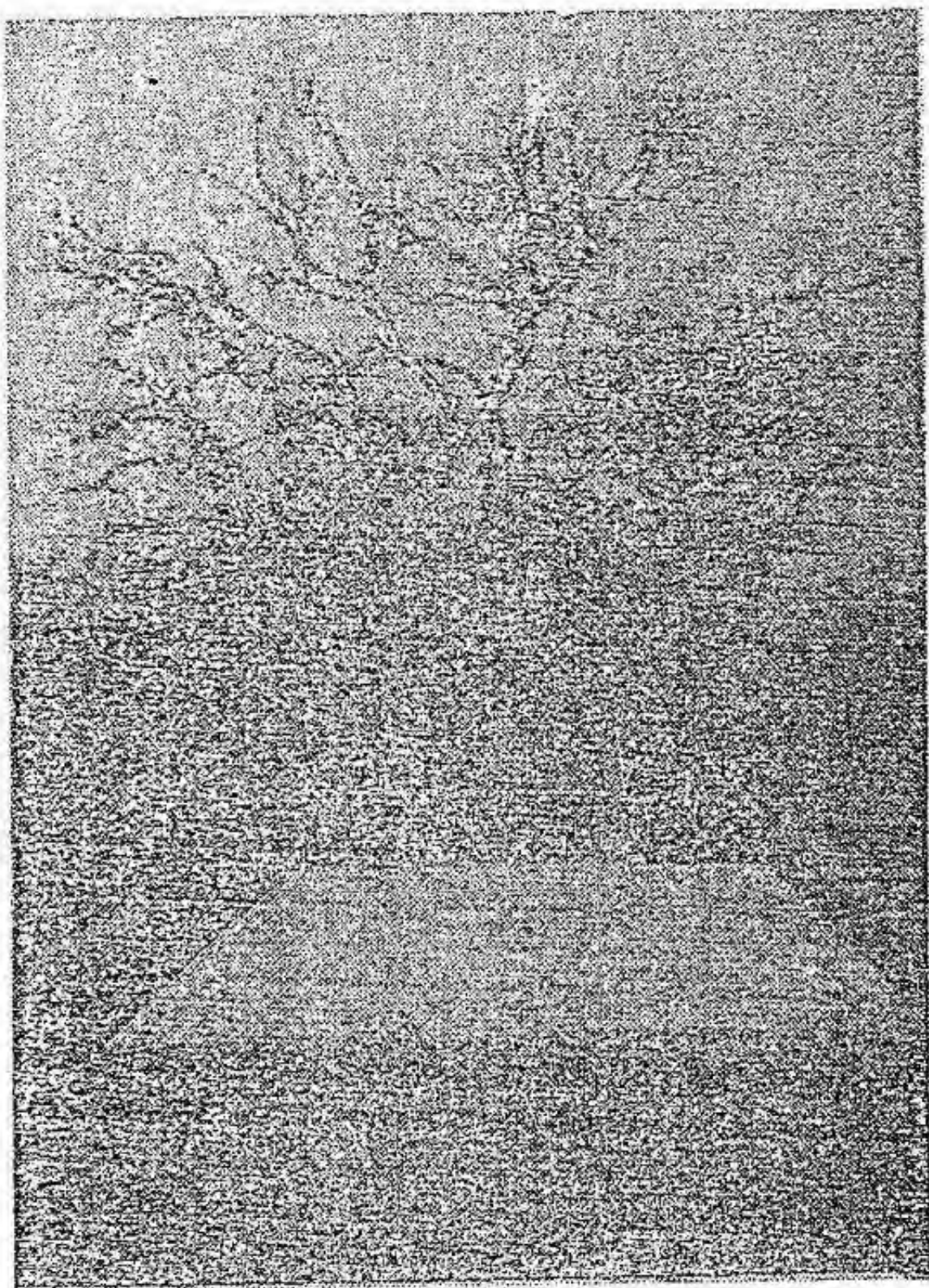
176 Anarkali

To

My Kind Teacher

Dr. Muhammad Baqir

M.A., Ph.D. (London)



BEDIL'S TOMB (I) IN DELHI
(Courtesy Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā)

Preface

GRADUAL disintegration of the Mughal Empire, after the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D., has prejudicially affected Muslims of this subcontinent in more than one way. Few persons realise that their great cultural heritage in particular suffered indescribably due to the catastrophic happenings that took place during the unfortunate rule of the later Mughals (1707-1857 A.D.). The institutions of the Muslims ceased to exist; the foundations of the society, they had built so laboriously since Muḥammad bin Qāsim entered India in 712 A.D., were wrecked; the arts, they cherished most, were destroyed; and the valuable manuscripts of the works, they produced in India, were either reduced to rubbish or taken away by the Britishers and other Europeans. It is a sad story; and when the history of this period comes to be written, after full realisation of this cultural loss, the world would painfully know what the end of Mughal Rule in India meant to Muslims.

It is in this background that we have to study the *Life and Works of 'Abdul Qādir Bedil*—the great Persian Poet who was born in India in 1644 A.D., during the glorious reign of Shāh Jahān, and died in 1720 A.D., when the Mughal Empire was tottering under the imbecile Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. Bedil's career at this critical juncture has done him much harm. In the confusion that followed the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, most of the works of our Poet, like those of many other writers hinted above, were either destroyed or taken away, and even to this day we search here in vain for them. Whatever is found is absolutely meagre and quite incomplete. This explains to a great extent why very few people know Bedil. Moreover, soon after the establishment of the British Rule in India, the impact of the Western civilisation turned the eyes of the Muslims to Europe, and they got no time to consider what they had lost due to the historic disruption of their society in this subcontinent. Hence Bedil, too, came to be almost totally neglected.

Still, there were some writers who talked now and then about the great contribution made by Bedil to Persian literature. Even eminent poets like Ghālib and Iqbāl sought inspiration from him, and

this was a pointer to the fact that a rich source lay untapped. I think myself very fortunate that gradually I got interested in the Great Poet, and, notwithstanding my humble attainments, I made up my mind to do research and to write a thesis about him. But his works were not available in the market. Nor could I get adequate help from any library in the country. Being disappointed from these quarters I entered into correspondence with the distinguished scholars and well-known writers. The reply I got from Niyāz Fatahpuri was very discouraging. He said it was not possible to procure Bedil's works, and, if procured somehow or other, age-long single-handed efforts would produce no results, as "Bedil is a boundless and fathomless Ocean." He further asked me to spend some four or five years with him, and he would tell me the few things he knew about Bedil. I think this rebuff was enough to extinguish the flame that had been kindled in my bosom by the ardent lovers of the Poet. But I was not disappointed and continued my efforts with redoubled vigour. Fortunately, Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvī, Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, Maulānā Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, and Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullah very kindly encouraged me and made some very good suggestions. I was advised to turn my attention to Afghānistān where Bedil is extremely popular. Now it was a problem for me to establish contacts with the literary circles in that country, but through the never-failing courtesy of my friend, Malik Ḥabibur Raḥmān, M.A., a trader, brought for me the matchless *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, lithographed in the Saḍdari Press, Bombay, and the admirable *Diwān-e-Bedil*, published in Kābul. With the arrival of these publications, my wishes began to materialise and I commenced studying the bulky works wholeheartedly.

Then the Panjab University granted me a scholarship, in the beginning of 1951, for making research about the Life and Works of Bedil. During those very days Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā—the leading literary figure in Kābul—paid a visit to Lahore and he advised me to go to Kābul, where excellent manuscripts of Bedil's works existed and which contained material that was not found in the two books mentioned above. Consequently my kind director, Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Head of the Persian Department, University of the Panjab—due to whose enlightened guidance I have been able to accomplish a most difficult task—arranged for my trip to Kābul during the summer vacation of the same year. Arrangements for my stay in the city were made by Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir, the then Charge d'Affaires, Pakistan Embassy, Kābul; and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā took me round to different libraries, and introduced me to the topmost literary persons in the city. I saw there most valuable and beautifully decorated manuscripts of Bedil's works, and copied much useful material. I discussed several

points with Afghān scholars like Sardār Faiz Muḥammad Khān Zakariya, Khalīlullah Khān Khalīlī, Professor Hāshim Shāiq Afandī, and Dr. Ans. It is a fact that but for my visit to Kābul much would have been wanting in this thesis, and my indebtedness to Kābul, therefore, is manifest in almost every chapter.

Bedil is really very popular in Afghānistān. Almost every literary person there possesses the huge *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil* of Safdari Press, Bombay, which was being sold there for Rs. 700 Afghānī. While going to Paghmān Pass (a charming hill-resort in Afghānistān—the cool pass from where River Kābul rushes down the snowclad mountains and begins to flow in the valley) with Āqā-e-Sa'īd Nafisī of Irān, who happened to be there during those days, and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā, I was wonderstruck when our chauffeur told us that he too possessed that *Kulliyāt*. Besides, I found that most of the manuscripts of Bedil's works had arrived from Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz in Central Asia. Some of them were contemporary with the Poet himself. This proved that the Poet's fame had spread there during his lifetime and persisted to this day. I was told that even in the Chinese Turkistan in the East and Turkey in the West, Bedil was equally popular. People liked him for his elegant diction, novel conceits, superb mysticism, brave and sublime philosophy of life, and orthodox views. If a thorough study of the literature, produced in all the countries mentioned above, is made, one would be surprised to find that Bedil has many followers, and that he has vastly influenced literary trends and mystical speculations in those lands.

Besides the literary, mystical, and philosophical import of Bedil's works, the writers and thinkers of the modern Republics of Central Asia find inspiration from the Poet on account of his progressive ideas permeated by an anti-feudal spirit. This startling fact was made known to the world when, on the occasion of the Islamic Colloquium held in Lahore, in the first week of January 1958, Dr. Ibrahim M. Muminov, member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, and a delegate from USSR, told in his address that Bedil is widely known in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and modern writers like Aḥmad Dānish, Furkat, Mukimī, and Asiri derived immense benefit from the Poet, and Aḥmad Dānish, in particular, made a complete study of his progressive social philosophical ideas, and used them in the struggle against the tenets of the Middle Ages. Dr. Muminov told that L. Penkovski's Russian version of Bedil's poem *Kāmdī and Madan* was published in 1955 by the State Publishing House of Fiction, Moscow. He also said that, besides the lithographed editions, many manuscript copies of the Poet's works are available in Tashkand, Andjan, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Leningrad, Stalinabad, and other towns of the Soviet Middle Asiatic

Republics. The learned scholar added that Bedil's popularity among the people finds confirmation in the appearance of popular reciters, commonly known as 'Bedil-Khāns.'

This was about Bedil's popularity in the lands of the brave Afghāns and the robust Uzbeks and Tājiks. But, in spite of the scanty attention paid to him, it cannot be denied that, in this sub-continent too, the Poet has been a great force. Modern polished and elegant Urdu owes much to him and, as a thinker, he influenced the mystical views of Ghālib, and Iqbāl's Philosophy of Ego. Still, as I have remarked above, the vast literature that flowed out of Bedil's pen lies untapped. In this thesis I have only made hints about his different aspects—his mysticism, his philosophy of life, his social ideology, his aesthetics, etc.—and many a research scholar, therefore, can dig into this literature and bring out rich treasure. Fortunately, of late, there has been an evidence of growing interest in Bedil. In addition to the sporadic effusions of Niyāz Fatahpūri, regular work has been done by some scholars. Dr. Ghulām Yāsīn Khān Niyāzī, M.A., Ph.D., was the first to write about the Life and Works of Bedil, in three instalments, in the *Oriental College Magazine*, in the early thirties. It was a good attempt, and, while at Kābul, I saw that the article had been translated into Persian. Then Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd of Patna collected everything, relating to Bedil, from the manuscript copy of the second volume of Khushgū's *Safina*, and got it published in *Ma'ārif* of May and July 1942. These were all articles, but recently, in 1952, a book, entitled *Bedil*, dealing with the Poet's Philosophy of Self, was published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Its author, Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, enjoys the honour of writing the first book on Bedil. As a fellow-worker in the same field I welcome his book. I would, however, suggest that in a future edition of the book, the learned author would remove the mistakes that have crept into the chapter dealing with the biography of Bedil, and also he would not let it remain sketchy and jejune. Moreover, enunciation of the Poet's views about paradise needs reconsideration. A thorough and deeper study of Bedil discloses that by paradise he means 'Self,' and not this world as stated by Khwāja Shāhib. In addition to this, improvement at several other places, especially in the matter of the treatment of the subject, is desirable. After the publication of this book one gets the heartening news that a youthful scholar, Mr. Maḥmūd Aḥmad Nāzīr, is making a comparative study of Bedil and Iqbāl.

My thesis is now before the literary world and the scholars would judge its value. I would, however, like to submit that it has been written after a research of full seven years, and I have not given a separate history of Bedil's period, but I have tried to show

how the Poet moved and lived during his times. No unnecessary details have been given, and if, for instance, some facts about Shāh Jahān have been given at a greater length, they would be found to have a profound relation with the development of the Poet's personality. While speaking about Bedil's Works, I have avoided *repetitions*, because I did not like to bore my readers. Moreover, I have quoted Bedil at every place to make my statements authentic and full of interest. The final chapter shows that Bedil's Life and his Works are intimately connected with each other.

With these remarks I finish this prologue, and pray that may this humble work, which owes its vitality to my lifeblood, contribute towards making Bedil known to the world.

‘ABDUL GHANI



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Transliteration

ا = a	خ = <u>kh</u>	ع = ' (e.g. Ma'bad, معبد, شجاع, Shujā', عابد, Ābid)
آ = ā	د = d	
إ = i	ذ = <u>dh</u>	غ = <u>gh</u>
ب = b	ز = z	ف = f
پ = p	ر = r	ق = q
ت = t	ز = z	ك = k
ث = <u>t</u>	س = s	ل = l
ث = s	ش = <u>sh</u>	م = m
ج = j	ص = s	ن = n
چ = <u>ch</u>	ض = z	و = w
ح = h	ط = <u>t</u>	ه = h
	ظ = <u>z</u>	ی = y

For vowels study the following examples :

اُور = Aur	میت = Mayyit
اُون = Ūn	ایسا = Aisā
اَوّل = Awwal	مردن = Murdan
مردِ کامل = Mard-e-Kāmil	ایقان = Iqān
دوست و دشمن = Dost-o-Dushman	

L I F E

Origin and Early Life

VARIOUS factors operate in moulding the personality of an individual, and the part played by race in this connection is not insignificant. Racial characteristics, secretly and silently, lay down the foundations and then the superstructure of personality gradually develops under the influence of environment and education.

In the case of our poet, 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, his biographers¹ agree that he belonged to the hardy, warlike Mughul race. But when we want to know his tribe we find ourselves face to face with a baffling situation, because his biographers do not agree with one another on this subject. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī, the celebrated author of the *Tazkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, says² that the poet belonged to the Barlās tribe. As far as I know, no other Tazkirah-writer contributes to this view. Khān Ārzū,³ followed by Rieu,⁴ writes that the poet was an Arlāt. There is yet a third view which is shared by many Tazkirah-writers,⁵ all of whom state that Bedil was an Arlās. To a superficial reader it would appear plausible that Barlās, Arlāt, and Arlās mean one and the same thing, but careful research reveals a totally different story.

The word Barlās means brave and of noble lineage.⁶ This title

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 337; Khushgū, *Safina-e-Khushgū* in *Ma'arif*, May 1942; Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 152.

2. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., f. 203a.

3. Ārzū, Sirājuddīn 'Alī Khān, *Majma'unnaḥās*, Ms., p. 56a.

4. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, p. 706b.

5. (i) Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 336.

(ii) Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, *Yad-e-Balā*, in *Ma'arif* for August 1946, p. 86. *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 152. In *Sarw-e-Āzād* it is Barlas which is palpably an error made by the calligraphist.

(iii) Ifūkhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkirah-e-Bināzār*, p. 39.

(iv) Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 358.

6. *Glossary of Turkish Words*, p. 116; Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, p. 3; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṣirul Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 258-60.

was first assumed by Iradancī Barlās, the eighth ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr.¹ All the Tīmūrīs are, therefore, Barlāses, and keeping in view the genealogy² of Bābur, which shows that he was a descendant of Tīmūr, we can safely say that the illustrious Barlāses ruled over India for many centuries, till they were displaced by the British in 1837 A.D. Now we turn to the Arlāt sept. On the death of the father of Chingīz Khān, his mother married one Menglik Izka, who was a pious and virtuous man. The second son of Menglik Izka was named Arlāt and from him came the tribe of Arlāts.³ Thus the Barlāses and the Arlāts have a glorious history and numerous prominent members of these tribes are mentioned in different history books⁴ of the Mughuls. Owing to the widespread popularity of these tribes one can be easily misled to believe that Bedil was either a Barlās or an Arlāt.

But the evidence of about half a dozen of his biographers cannot be brushed aside. The author of *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1232/1817 (نشر رک جان, being the chronogram)⁵ and who says Bedil was a Barlās, was not a contemporary of our poet. His statement, therefore, cannot be trustworthy. Khān Ārzū, who says that the poet was an Arlāt, though a contemporary, seems to have taken no pains in finding out the tribe of Bedil. He says that he saw him only twice⁶ in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.D.). In this connection I place my utmost reliance on Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mirātul Khayāl*, who, after writing the account of Bedil in his Tazkirah showed it to the poet himself, who was satisfied⁷ with what Sher Khān had written about him. There we learn that Bedil was an Arlās. It has already been pointed out⁸ that Khushgū, in his *Safīna*, Āzād Bilgrāmī in all of his three Tazkirahs, ‘Abdul Wahhāb Iftikbār in his *Tazkirah-e-Benazir*, are all unanimous in declaring that Bedil belonged to the Arlās tribe. The author of *Iqd-e-Surayya* also joins⁹ them. Out of these four

1. Dughlāt, Mirzā Haidar, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, p. 51 (in introduction).

2. ‘Abdul Ghāzī, *The Genealogical History of the Tatars*, pp. 49-50.

3. Davy, *Institutes of Timur*, p. 312.

4. (i) Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī*, pp. 75, 108, 140, 141, 195, etc.

(ii) ‘Alī Yazdī, *Sharaf-ud-dīn, Zafarnāma*, pp. 52, 692.

(iii) Bābur, *Memoirs of Bābur*, pp. 50, 255, 298, 299, 302, etc.

(iv) Abul Fazal, *Āin-e-Akbarī*, p. 280.

5. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms., f. 209b.

6. Ārzū, *Majma‘un Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56a.

7. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 390.

8. Page 3, *supra*.

9. Mushafī, Ghulām Hamdānī, *Iqd-e-Surayya*, p. 16.

biographers, the last two are not contemporaries of Bedil. As regards Khushgū, he used to visit Bedil daily, and he says he was with him more than a thousand¹ times. It means that at least for about three years Khushgū constantly visited Bedil. So far as Āzād Bilgrāmī is concerned, he has admittedly² collected more details regarding the life of the poets he mentions than most of the other biographers. Moreover, in the *Catalogues of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts* of the Bānkipūr³ and Behār⁴ Libraries, too, we find that the name of the tribe to which Bedil belonged has been mentioned as Arlās. Now in Nūrūl Abṣār,⁵ a dictionary of the Turkish language written in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the Mughul Emperor (1719-1739 A.D.), we read that Arlās is indeed the name of a Mughul tribe. Arlās tribe, though less conspicuous, is, therefore, the tribe to which Bedil belonged. The etymology of the word Arlās is unknown, though the author of Asifūl Lughāt writes that 'the ninth intellect' is called Arlās.

Nothing definite is known about the date of the migration of Bedil's ancestors to India. Originally, they belonged to Tūrān—a country beyond the River Oxus—and lived in Bokhāra. Research regarding the question of Bedil's ancestors, who first migrated to India, has also been fruitless. This much alone is known that for many generations his forefathers were soldiers.⁶ But we tread surer ground when we come to speak of Bedil's father—Mīrzā 'Abdul Khālīq.⁷ He was a well-to-do soldier⁸; but, very early⁹ in his life, he renounced the world and lived the life of a sūfī devoted to the Absolute Reality. Through the spiritual assistance of a saint, Mawlānā Kamāl,¹⁰ he had the rare fortune of being instructed in the

1. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif* for May 1942, p. 369.

2. Sprenger, A., *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh*, p. 144.

3. Ms. No. 381. Bankipur is properly the western suburb of Patna.

4. Ms. No. 410.

5. Rai Dhan, *Nūrūl Abṣār*, Ms. f., 452-A.

6. Bedil, *Chāḥar 'Unsur*, Ṣāfīdarī Edition, p. 66. Here Bedil writes that he joined the Army in keeping with the traditions of his forefathers.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358. Khushgū gives this name, but Hāshim Shāiq Afandī—a Professor of Persian Literature in Kabul University—possesses a manuscript *Kulliyāt* of Bedil, in which at the end of the *Ruqq'āt* and in the beginning of the *Maṣnavī Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, I saw the following statement: ساقی نامہ میرزا

عبدالقادری بدیل ولد یوسف الدین. The scribe wrote it in 1296 A.H. (1820 A.D.). But as Khushgū is a contemporary I believe him. For Hāshim Shāiq's *Kulliyāt* see *Aryana*, Kabul, Dalv 1329 (1370 A.H.).

8. Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṣṣan*, p. 70. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1932.

9. Khushgū in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 358.

10. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, II, p. 21 (Ṣāfīdarī Edition).

Path by the spirit of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī (470-560 A.H., 1077-1164 A.D.) himself, who was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the popularisation of the new note of passion and emotion in orthodox Islam, introduced into more intellectual circles by Ghazzālī.¹ Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq thus belonged to the famous Qādirī² order of the Sūfis, which had entered India, through Sind, in 1482 A.D.

When Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq was quite an old³ man, at a very auspicious hour in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.), a son was born to him. Mīrzā Abul Qāsim Tirmizī⁴ a Sūfī Sayyid and intimate friend of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, was well versed in Mathematics⁵ and Astrology. He foretold a brilliant future for the child, and, to commemorate this happy occasion, he brought forth two chronograms : فیض قدس and انتخاب, each yielding the year 1054 A.H. Little did the family know at that time that the handsome child, who was indeed a divine gift (فیض قدس), would one day be one of the elect (انتخاب) of the world. As he had an unshakably profound faith in the spiritual eminence of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī, Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq wanted to perpetuate the memory of this feat in the name of his son who was called 'Abdul Qādir.⁶

The place where this child was born has been variously given by the Tazkirah-writers. Mīr Qudratullah Qāsim, the author of *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1221 A.H. (1806 A.D.) says that 'Abdul Qādir was born in Bokhara, and came to India in his childhood.⁷ It may be noted that Mīr Shāhib made this statement full eighty-eight years after the death of Bedil. 'Abdul Ghafūr Nassākh wrote his *Sakhun-e-Shu'ara* in 1281 A.H. (1864 A.D.) and he too has the same views⁸ about the birthplace of Bedil but it appears his authority is none other than Mīr Qudratullah Qāsim. As already pointed out, Bokhara must have been the native⁹ town of Bedil's ancestors, but it cannot be the birthplace of the poet as asserted in *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, the well-known writer of the three Tazkirahs—*Yad-e-Baiza*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, and *Khazāna-e-*

1. Suhrawardī, Hasan, in *History of Sufism* by Arberry, Introduction xii.

2. Ibid. This order was started by the renowned Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 358.

4. Bedil, *Ghazal 'Umur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 26.

5. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942.

6. Ibid.

7. Qāsim, Mīr, Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, 115. A fantastic story was told to me in Kabul that Bedil was born in Badakhshan, where tribe (قشلاق) of Bedil still exists. No documentary proof was, however, produced.

8. Nassākh, 'Abdul Ghafūr, *Sakhun-e-Shu'ara*, p. 75.

9. Page 3, *supra*.

Āmirah, and who is, we know, very scrupulous about giving facts, says definitely in all the three books that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna. Āzād Bilgrāmi (born 1116/1704), it must be borne in mind, was a contemporary of Bedil, though much younger in age.

Internal evidence too can be easily arrayed on the side of Āzād. Whenever Bedil writes about Bihār and its towns one is emphatically made to believe that he is well acquainted with the province, and palpably this would have been impossible unless he had passed a considerable period of his early life in that part of the country. There is, besides, an implicit reference to his attachment for Bihār in a letter¹ which Bedil wrote in his old age from Dehli, to someone living in Bihār. He wrote :

نعم عيش صوبه بهار مبارکباد

[Accept my congratulations for enjoying a happy life in Bihār Province].

This shows that he had a warm corner in his heart for the province even in his old age. A verse,² too, is worth serious consideration in this respect :

ما سیه بختان حباب گریه تو میدیم خانه بر آبست یکسر مردم بنگاله را

[We, the unlucky fellows, are the bubbles produced by the tears of disappointment,

The people of Bengāl have their houses completely on water (leading quite a precarious life)].

Here we find a clear reference to his homeland. Bihār and Bengāl in those days meant one and the same territory. Khān Ārzū, certainly, had this fact in mind when he wrote in *Majma'ūn Nafāis* that during his early days Bedil lived³ in Bengāl. Someone might say : "At the most we conclude from these facts that Bedil was a Bihārī, and he must have been called 'Azīmābādī as, according to Sayyid Sulaimān Nadwī,⁴ who himself belongs to Bihār,⁵ townspeople in Bihār are often called 'Azīmābādīs." He may be told that the central place, from where Bedil in his early life had been making journeys⁶ to other places, was Patna, and this could not be the case unless it was his native town.

1. Bedil, *Ruqq'at*, 138. Here Bedil speaks clearly about his old age.

2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Şafdarī Edition, *Ghazaliyāt*, 35.

3. Ārzū, *Majma'ūn Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56a. The original statement reads :

در بنگاله بسر برده

4. *Ma'ārif*, August 1946, p. 94.

5. *Urdu Magazine*, January 1929.

6. Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra.

Moreover, not only Āzād Bilgrāmī but other biographers also assert definitely that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī writes in *Nishtar-e-Ishq*: 1 بیدل در عظیم آباد [Bedil was born in Azīmābād Patna]. Similarly, Wazīr 'Alī 'Azīmābādī says in *Mī'rājul Khayāl*: 2 مولد لطیفش شهر عظیم : آباد است [His (Bedil's) birthplace is the beautiful town of 'Azīmābād]. Shād 'Azīmābādī even mentions³ the quarter in which Bedil lived. He says: "Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil belonged to 'Azīmābād Patna proper and the aged people say he lived in the Pattan Devī quarter."

It may be noted that all the authorities quoted above hail from 'Azīmābād. This fact shows that the belief that Bedil belonged to this town is shared by all the writers of that place and has been handed down from one generation to another. In a recently published booklet,⁴ بہار اور اردو شاعری, Bedil has again been claimed as 'Azīmābādī. Finally, we come to the short biographical sketch of Bedil given in the *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur*, where all what I have said so far has been tersely summed⁵ up:

"Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. . . . son of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq of Turkish origin, belonging to the Chaghtai tribe of Arlās, was born in 'Azīmābād Patna in A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1644) for which date the word انتخاب is a chronogram."

Now Bankipur⁶ is a suburb of Patna and a part of the Patna municipality. This life-sketch of Bedil, therefore, must be based on authentic facts. In view of all this, I affirm unhesitatingly⁷ that Bedil was born in 'Azīmābād Patna, and that he must have passed at least a considerable part of his early life in the Pattan Devī quarter of the town, as stated by Shād 'Azīmābādī.⁸

1. Husain Qulī Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms. f. 203a

2. Wazīr 'Alī Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Mī'rājul Khayāl*, Ms.; date of composition 1257 A.H. (1841 A.D.).

3. Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Nowā-e-Watan*, p. 220; in *Ma'arif*, August 1946, p. 95. The original quotation follows:

بیدل خاص عظیم آباد پنہ کے متوطن تھے۔۔۔۔۔ اگلے لوگوں سے سنا ہے کہ مرزا محمّد پن دیوی میں رہتے تھے۔

4. Dardai, Mu'īnuddīn, Muhammad, *بہار اور اردو شاعری*, pp. 21-25.

5. See under Manuscript No. 631 of this Catalogue, Vol. III, published, Calcutta 1912.

6. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Patna*, 180.

7. I have deliberately avoided to mention Akbarābād, Delhi and Lahore, which cities have been given by Khushgū, 'Alī Qulī Hidāyat, and Tāhīr Naṣr-ābādī respectively as the native places of Bedil. During his lifetime our poet lived in these cities at one time or the other.

8. See above.

Numerous references have so far been made to 'Azīmābād. It would, therefore, be desirable to give here a brief history and geography of this place.

'Azīmābād is the Patliputra¹ of ancient times, which was the capital of Magdha. When it was being built, Buddha (500 B.C.) predicted that it would become a great city. Later, Patliputra came to be called Patna. In 1704 A.D. it was re-christened 'Azīmābād² by its Governor, Prince 'Azīmushshān, a grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb. As Bedil was born in 1644 A.D., it was then still called Patna, and, as he was an old man of sixty when it changed its name and became 'Azīmābād, Bedil always calls it Patna³ in his writings. Nowadays again it is Patna of old days and is the capital⁴ of Bihar, and the headquarters town of Patna District. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges.

At the time when Bedil was born, Shāh Jahān, the magnificent Mughul Emperor, was ruling over India. He had ascended the throne in 1628 A.D. (1037 A.H.), and during the sixteen years that had elapsed till the birth of Bedil, Shāh Jahān had fully established his claim for being an illustrious monarch. His armies had been victorious⁵ in all the campaigns that he had undertaken. His last gain was Qandhar,⁶ surrendered in 1638/A.D. (1047 A.H.), to the Imperial Armies by 'Alī Mardān Khān, its Governor. Since then necessity for entering upon a military enterprise had not arisen. The Emperor's victories had established Imperial prestige and consequently there was perfect peace and tranquillity in the Empire. Justice was administered equitably, a general sense of security prevailed, and trade and industry flourished.⁷

Shāh Jahān had a natural taste for magnificence and elegance. The unrivalled Peacock Throne⁸—an exquisite specimen of workmanship in jewels and precious stones—was constructed for him in 1634 A.D. (1044 A.H.) costing one crore of rupees. Foundations of the grandest

1. Cunningham, Alexander, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 452-56.

2. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Patna, 198.

3. Bedil, *Kulliyāt*, Safdarī Edition; *Chahār 'Unsur*, 50, 124.

4. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Patna, 165.

5. 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Padshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, pp. 246, 238, Part B, p. 106, *ibid.*, in Elliot and Dowson, p. 33. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, pp. 410-461, 475, 509-25.

6. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, pp. 556-559.

7. Rai Bhara Mal, *Lubbat Tawārikh-e-Hind*, in Elliot and Dowson, p. 172.

'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Padshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 139, *ibid.*, Part B, p. 78.

8. اورنگ شاهی عادی is the chronogram which occurs in a poem by Hāji Muhammad Jān Qudsī, which was engraved in the canopy of the throne. For the poem see Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, Part I, p. 503.

city of the Empire, i.e. of Shāh Jahānābad¹ were laid on the 25th of Zil Hijja 1048 A.H. (29th April 1639) and constructions were going on apace under the directions of the ablest of the royal engineers. Mumtāz Mahal, the dearly loved wife of Shāh Jahān, had died² on the 7th of June 1631 (17th of Zulqā'd 1040) in childbirth, gazing with tearful eyes at her royal consort, who later on gave expression³ to his affection and sorrow in the elegant and chaste Tāj. The marble monuments on its inner platform were completed in 1053 A.H.⁴ (1643 A.D.) a year before the birth of Bedil. Thus the blessed child was born in a world whose imagination had been tickled by the magnificence and graciousness of Shāh Jahān.

It may also be borne in mind that at this occasion, the Emperor had banned the practice of prostration⁵ before the throne, and had re-introduced the Islamic calendar. The objections, so vociferously raised by al-Mujaddid,⁶ had thus been removed. Moreover, he had struck coins⁷ bearing the orthodox religious views, had arrived at a settlement with the Deccani Muslim rulers to the effect that the first three caliphs of Islam should not be abused,⁸ and he had also visited, as a pilgrim, publicly, the tombs of Khawāja Mu'inuddīn Chishtī Ajmerī (in 1046/1636 and 1053/1643) and Khawāja Nizāmuddīn Awliya¹⁰ of Dehli (in 1048/1638). The orthodox Muslims felt glorified and they adored Shāh Jahān as a hero. Shāh Jahān was, therefore, at the climax of his power, influence, and popularity when Bedil opened his eyes in this world.

He had opened his eyes in this world, but before reaching manhood he had yet to pass through the stage of infancy. Bedil himself gives an account¹¹ of those days. At that time he could not distinguish good from bad, and man from woman. He was only sucking nourishment from the breasts of his loving mother and, whenever the supply of sweet milk stopped, he used to cry bitterly. For him this period had really the blessings¹² of paradise. Wherever he

1. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, in Elliot and Dowson, VII, p. 89.

2. 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 384.

3. Fergusson, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 284.

4. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 596.

5. Ibid., p. 397. 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 110.

6. 971-1034 A.H. For the biographical sketch of this eminent saint, whose full name is Shāikh Ahmad Sirhindī, see Fārūqī, Burhān Ahmad, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd*, pp. 5-18.

7. 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshahnāma*, Vol. I, Part A, p. 91.

8. Ibid., Part B, pp. 145, 178.

9. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 344.

10. Ibid., p. 112.

11. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unsur* 'Safdarī Edition, p. 5.

12. Ibid., p. 7.

lay, it turned out to be a soothing cot, and at every place a nurse's lap welcomed his head. Gradually he began to recognise his parents, and learnt to utter pappal¹ and mamma, and then, after crawling for some days on the ground, he managed to tread here and there. His innocent monosyllabic² utterances were loved by all. Soon he was running, going freely even into the purdah-observing homes, and chattering and laughing.

When he was about four years and a half³ his father, Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, breathed his last, and Bedil was left an orphan. Brilliant reminiscences⁴ of the paternal care were the only thing he could recollect in later years about his father. Now he was under the protection of Mīrzā Qalandar,⁵ a step-brother and also disciple of his father. For some time no attention was paid⁶ towards the education of Bedil, but in the beginning of the sixth month of the sixth year of his life, his mother, a virtuous lady, taught him the alphabet, and then he was put under the charge of teachers. He finished reading the Holy Qurān⁷ after the incredibly short period of seven months. This shows he was highly intelligent. His mother had also died by that time,⁸ and he was now under the sole charge of Mīrzā Qalandar.

He learnt Arabic grammar⁹ and Persian prose and verse till he was ten years old. His mind was not yet mature for philosophy. In spite of this, while speaking of new vistas of thought that were slowly and steadily opening before his mind in those days, he says, "Every crowd that I saw served as a *Maktab* contributing towards my perfection, and every word that fell on my ears guided me a step further. Every subtle point used to unfold before me a book of mysteries, and every aphorism revealed volumes of truth. Such a penetrating mind had been granted to me by the bountiful God!"

1. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

3. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 358.

4. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 5. He mourns his father in this verse:

خورشید خرامید و فروغی به نظر ماند دریا به کنار دگر افتاد و گهر ماند
[The sun glided away, and only a brilliant twilight was in sight.
The river moved to the other bank and the pearl was left behind.]

5. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 359. Khushgū says برادر اخبانی a brother from the same mother but different father.

6. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 5.

7. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 359, that he finished the Holy Qurān before the death of his father, but Bedil himself contradicts him in *Chahār 'Unsur* at page 5.

8. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 359.

9. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 6. Khushgū in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 359.

At this time¹ when he was studying rhetoric and learning lessons from the *Gulistān*² of the Great Sa'di, one of his class-fellows used to come to the *Maktab* chewing the fragrant clove jilly flower (قرنفل). Whenever the boy smiled or talked, the air was filled with sweet smell. This perfume stirred his latent creative faculties, and Bedil composed the following quatrain:

یارم هر گاه در سخن می آید بوئی عجیب از دهن می آید
این بوی قرنفل است یا نکبت گل یارانشه مشک ختن می آید
[Whenever my beloved speaks,
A strange perfume comes out of his mouth.

Is it the fragrance of the clove jilly flower or that of rose,
Or there comes the sweet smell of the musk of Cathay ?]

All who heard this quatrain were surprised. They could not believe that such a gem could be produced by a boy of ten. While talking about this composition, Bedil himself feels glorified.

In this very year of his life, when he had finished the *Kāfiya* and had just commenced the *Sharah-i-Mulla Jūmī*,³ a strange episode cut short Bedil's regular education. One day, two of his teachers⁴ were holding discussion about inflections in Arabic grammar. In the heat of discussion, their jugular veins swelled, their eyes grew red-hot, and they lost their temper. Mīrzā Qalandar happened to be there. He thought: if a life of devotion to Arabic studies ultimately results in such a shameless and childish behaviour, then woe upon schooling. He asked his nephew to leave the school forthwith and study the famous works of the master-writers of Persian at home. He reminded him that the chronograms *انتخاب فیض قدس*, discovered by an eminent saint, Mīrzā Abul Qāsim Tirmizī, predicted extraordinary intellectual and spiritual achievements and Bedil should, therefore, study privately, looking for guidance only to God, the Omniscient and Omnipotent. From that day he began to acquire knowledge with extraordinary self-devotion and emerged finally as a self-taught genius. We have to see how it happened.

Before crossing the Khyber Pass and coming into India, the Muslims of Central Asia had attained a high degree of civilisation, and their sciences had already reached their culminating point. I will only mention the names of Albīrūnī (362-440 A.H.—972-1048 A.D.)

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 47.

2. Husain Quli Khān 'Azīmābādī, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms., f. 204a.

3. *Khushgū* in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 360. Also *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, f. 2031, and *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Mss. at Bankipur*.

4. *Khushgū* says these were two students, but Bedil writes :
روزی در علمای مدرسه تقریر طرح اجلاسی قرار یافته بود . . . و در دانشمند
بی انصاف عرصه جولان لاف گرم داشتند

They were, therefore, teachers. See *Chahār 'Unsur* Safdari Edition, pp. 25, 26.

and Ibn Sina (370-427 A.H.—980-1035-6 A.D.). They flourished in the territories from which came the main exodus of Muslims to India. About Ibn Sina, Bartold says that he mastered¹ the entire scientific knowledge of his epoch and expounded it in an intelligible and artistic form in his *Kitābush Shifā*, which deals with logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy and theology.² When the Muslims had conquered India, they sat down to propagate their sciences, and very soon, even in the days of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī (crowned in 695/1296) the seats of learning in this country vied with those which the Muslims had left in Bokhara, Samargand, and Khawarzim. Philosophy, Metaphysics, Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Theology, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography were taught.³ During the Mughul period, the educational activities of the Muslims received a further impetus owing to continued peace and court patronage and encouragement. The highest pitch⁴ was reached during the reign of Shāh Jahān who, besides being a strong ruler, was a bibliophile, and made notes on manuscripts.⁵ Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq⁶ (died 1052/1642), Maulvi 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkoti⁷ (died 1067/1656-7) and Shaikh Muhammad Afzal Jaunpurī⁸ (died 1062/1651-52) were some of the distinguished 'ulema of his times. Sa'dullah Khān 'Allāmi⁹ (died 1066/1655-6), the renowned Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān, knew the Holy Qurān by heart, and at the same time was proficient in all the sciences in vogue in those days.

We have spoken of India in general, but the *'ilāqa*, where Bedū was passing the impressionable period of his life, was still more fortunate in having the most enlightened 'ulema and scholars and the best seminaries. It had maintained, since earlier times, the proud distinction of having high traditions of learning. Nalanda,¹⁰ the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India, was situated in this very *'ilāqa*. When Amīr Tīmūr pillaged the country from the Indus to the Ganges in 1398 A.D., Dehli was ransacked and its people were slaughtered. The brilliant luminaries of Islam fled for their life to the East. Synchronising with these times, fortunately, the Kings of the East, or the Sharqī Kings, were establishing themselves in

1. Bartold, *Mussalman Culture*, p. 90.

2. Ibid., p. 89.

3. Baranī, *Tārīkh-e-Feroz Shāhī*, p. 352. *Firishta*, vol. I, pp. 120-22.

4. Sulaimān Nadvī, *Hayāt-e-Shāhī*, p. 341.

5. Law, *Promotion of Muhammāden Learning*, Foreword, p. xxvii.

6. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhori, *Pādshahnāma*, I B, p. 341.

7. Ibid., p. 340. He was called آفتاب پنجاب by al-Mujaddid. See Rahmān 'Alī, *Tazkirah-e-'Ulemā-e-Hind*, p. 110.

8. Rahmān 'Alī, *Tazkirah-e-'Ulemā-i-Hind*, p. 181.

9. Khāfi Khān, *Mustakhbāl*, *Lubab*, I, p. 571.

10. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 469.

Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm Shāh, who reigned from 1401 to 1449 A.D., was the most prominent of the Kings of the East. He was an enlightened patron of arts and learning. All the Muslim scholars and 'ulema, therefore, flocked to Jaunpur and there they set up many seminaries.¹

A new era of enlightenment was thus inaugurated, and the country, right up to the ancient city of Patna,² became a cradle of learning and culture. So much so that Shāh Jahān once remarked with a glimmer of delight in his eyes: *بورب شیراز ماست*, i.e. 'Our East bears comparison with Shirāz in respect of learning.' The works of the later thinkers of Iran had been introduced in India during the days of Akbar the Great, and were included in the courses of study.* After mastering the works of his predecessors, Mulla Muḥammad Jaunpurī (died 1062/1651-2) had written his philosophical treatise—*Shams-e-Bāzigha*³—in 1042/1632-3 which stands out even today as a monument of learning and exposition.

From amongst the distinguished 'ulema of Bihār proper, we come across Mullā Moḥyuddīn Mohan Bihārī⁴ (died 1068/1657-8) who was the teacher of Aurangzeb. Side by side with Bedil, Ghulām Yahyā Bihārī⁵ (died 1128/1715-6) and Qāzī Muḥibbullah Bihārī⁶ (died 1119/1707) were also getting education. Later, the former earned a name as a philosopher, and the latter was called the virtual ocean of learning.

It is apparent that the environments in Bihār were at this time very conducive to the attainment of knowledge. All sorts of facilities were available and one could reap benefit according to one's bent of mind and circumstances. We know that Bedil had been asked by his uncle to study the masterpieces of Persian prose and verse at home. He had been advised to collect selected⁷ verses and beautiful passages from different authors and then to show them to his uncle. It was essentially a research work. Conventional ways being abandoned, Bedil silently applied himself to poetical works, and reflection and concentration became his second nature. Gleanings of the day were read out to Mīrzā Qalandar, his uncle, whose appreciation

1. Nūruddīn Zafarābādī, *Tajallī-e-Nūr*, II, pp. 2, 29.

2. Ibid., 9. *Sabhatul Mirjān* of Āzād Bilgrāmī, quoted in *Hayāt-e-Shibli*, p. 12. The province of 'Azīmābād (Bihār) has also been included here in *بورب*, i.e. the East.

3. Āzād, Ghulām 'Alī Bilgrāmī, *Ma'asirul Kirām*, I, p. 221.

4. Ibid., p. 238. The names of Dawwānī, Mīr Ṣadrūddīn, Mīr Ghiyāsuddīn, etc., have been mentioned.

5. Ibid., p. 257.

6. Āzād, Ghulām 'Alī Bilgrāmī, *Ma'asirul Kirām*, I, p. 43.

7. Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tazkirah-e-'Ulemā-e-Hind*, p. 159.

8. Ibid., p. 175.

9. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unṣur*, *Ṣaḍdari Edition*, p. 27.

encouraged Bedil. Sometimes on hearing some elegant verse Mīrzā Qalandar was moved to ecstasy and used to compose couplets extempore. In view of the inspiration that Bedil received from his uncle, he counts him as one of his teachers. He says that he learnt good manners also from his uncle.

Mīrzā Qalandar, though illiterate, had a keen perception and could versify extempore with a fair degree of elegance. Once he had a piece of yellow¹ silk tied over his eyes on account of some eye trouble. Someone enquired about it and he replied off-hand :

مخرومی دیدار تو خون در جگر انداخت چشم چه کند چشم تراش از نظر انداخت

[My liver bled as I was debarred from seeing you.

What should my eyes do, when your eyes have cast them off ?]

He was also extraordinarily strong and energetic.² In a single pull, he could uproot a date-palm, with a rope of horse's hair tied to its stem some five or six feet deep in the earth. He could break the hardest stone of apricot, under the pressure of his thumb, and could easily straighten the twisted articles of inflexible steel. The army unit which was commanded by him was always victorious at the battlefield. Once fighting in Hazāra, he showed his fortitude and resolution in a strange way. In the heat of the action his heel was dislocated and his shank bone fractured. Calmly and silently he set right his heel, tied pieces of arrows round the fractured bone, and continued fighting for full three days, till he was victorious. Then he told his companions what had happened, and all were surprised.

Scorpions could not move under his shadow and locks opened as soon as he pointed at them with his forefinger. The former novel trait, he said, was inborn, and the latter he had acquired by repeating constantly for full five years : با نوح—an attribute of God. When he was feeling severely feverish, he would drink 300 Misqāl⁴ of ghee at a drought and regarded it as health-giving syrup ; and he used to put ground pepper in his eyes to cure them of soreness.

1. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

3. Khushgū says that in the beginning Mīrzā Qalandar was in the service of Prince Shujā'. We know that Prince Shujā' had been called from Bengāl by Shāh Jahān when he went to Kabul in 1036 A.H. (1646 A.D.) in connection with the arduous Balkh campaign. It is just possible that Mīrzā Qalandar accompanied the armies of Shujā' on that occasion. When the Mughul armies retreated in 1037 A.H. (1647 A.D.), they were attacked by the heartless Hazāras in the way. But I cannot say definitely that Mīrzā Qalandar experienced a fracture of his shank bone at that time. See Khushgū in *Me'ārif*, May 1942, p. 359. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, I, pp. 660, 676, 690.

4. مثقال is equivalent to about five grams. Haim, *New Persian-English Dictionary*, I, p. 818.

He lived a life of contentment¹ having no relish for nice dishes. He practised austerity, and, with a view to self-mortification, every now and then, he observed forty days of devotion and seclusion, as a consequence of which he would grow very thin and weak and only the entreaties of his friends compelled him to give up the severe self-discipline for some time. He said, "Strict self-discipline is essential if you wish to achieve perfection." We have also seen that he was a disciple² of Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq—Bedil's father. He had no liking for having an established home.³ Bedil says,⁴ "Mīrzā Qalandar had covered all the stages of the Path and belonged to the Qādirī order of Sūfism."

It has already been related that Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq had deep-rooted⁵ faith in a saint named Maulānā Kamāl. Mīrzā Qalandar too was a great believer in the spiritual eminence of this holy personage. Maulānā Kamāl belonged to Rani Sagar⁶—a town in Bihār about sixty miles to the west of Patna. With a lowliness of spirit he had combined elevation of mind. He was the phoenix of his age in mysticism, and, in his regard for the canon law, he was a model for others. The Qādirī order of saints received much celebrity in Bihār because of the supreme excellence of his personality.⁷

Bedil had known him from his very childhood. But at one time things took such a turn that Maulānā Kamāl began to bestow increasingly more attention upon the promising boy. Bedil was interested in incantations⁸ from his infancy. He would attend people at sick-bed, used to put his personal amulet around their necks, and recited the Holy Qurān (i.e. سورة الحمد), for invoking the blessings of God. Ailing persons, Bedil says, were thus relieved of their trouble. In this way he had developed interest in amulets and charms. Now, one day, Bedil overheard⁹ Maulānā Kamāl telling a charm to Mīrzā Qalandar for exercising the evil spirits. It so happened that, on a certain day, when Bedil was playing with his mates, he was told that a woman was being tortured to death by some evil spirit. Several exorcisers were called, but of no avail. A man, who could enter the woman's apartments, was sent for, and Bedil decided to try the charm of the Maulānā. When the man came Bedil asked him to breathe the اسم اعظم on the nail of the woman's thumb. She was immediately relieved. When

1. Bedil, *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 24.

2. Page 11, supra.

3. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 7.

4. Ibid.

5. Page 5, supra.

6. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 9.

7. Ibid., p. 6.

8. Ibid., p. 7. Bedil's interest in charms continued till he was 25 (*Chahār 'Unsur*, 110-20).

9. Ibid., p. 8.

Maulānā Kamāl heard the whole story, he was immensely pleased and gave Bedil his book of amulets which he had collected during the whole course of his life. From that day Maulānā Kamāl began to shower his favours upon Bedil.

It is evident that Bedil was initiated into mysticism by Mīrzā Qalandar and Maulānā Kamāl, who, by their personal example of self-renunciation, had inculcated in him disinterested love which is the basis of Sūfism. Khushgū¹ says that in the art of versification too Maulānā Kamāl was the teacher of Bedil.

When Bedil composed his first quatrain, he had been discouraged by some people who had remarked that such a nice piece of poetry could not be produced by a lad of ten. Nevertheless, at that very time,² he felt some mysterious vibrations in his soul which impelled him to speak out in verse. He destroyed his compositions, for fear of the critics, although every hemistich was colourful like the rainbow and lofty like the crescent. During those days he wrote³ in the style of the classical Persian poets.

On account of his early contact with the custodians of esoteric doctrine, Bedil was led to believe that he too was destined to share their secrets. This belief had a profound influence over his career as a poet, and from the very beginning he thought that whenever he composed a couplet, he divulged a secret. It was perhaps because of this that originally he adopted Ramzī as his Takhallus. But Khushgū says,⁴ "One day Bedil was studying the *Gulistān*. When in its preface he reached the following hemistich :

یدل از بے نشان چه گرید باز

[What should a man without heart (i.e. lover)

Say about the untraceable God?]

he was moved to excitement, and after he had prayed for guidance from the spirit of Hāfiz, he decided to change his Takhallus from Ramzī to Bedil."

There was another saint, named Shāh-e-Mulūk,⁵ in whose company Bedil learnt much about the Unseen. Shāh-e-Mulūk was above all worldly considerations, cared little for food and drink, even remained naked and lived for a long time under a tree in Sarā-e-Benares, which is at a distance of about four miles from Rānī Sāgar, the town

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 360.

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, p. 48.

3. *Ibid*.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361. Husain Quli Khān, however, says in *Nishtar-e-Ishq* (Ms. f. 204-6) that Bedil sought guidance from the spirit of Sa'dī, but I prefer Khushgū because it is *Diwān-e-Hāfiz* which is invariably used for such purposes.

5. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdari Edition, pp. 14-15.

called مدينة الأولياء (the city of saints) by Bedil because of its being the native town of Shāikh Kamāl. Mīrzā Qalandar lived in Rānī Sāgar for some time on account of his having deep faith in the sainthood of Shāikh Kamāl. Bedil too was there, with Mīrzā Qalandar, as his ward and pupil. As Sarā-e-Benāres is not much away from Rānī Sāgar, Shāh-e-Mulūk used to come to see Mīrzā Qalandar and lived with him for weeks on end. The Shāh was indifferent towards people but when left alone he would go on talking and making references to profound truths. One day in the course of such a soul-illuminating talk to himself, when Shāh-e-Mulūk observed that Bedil was listening with rapt attention, he asked him to pen down his extempore utterances. Most eagerly Bedil took pen and paper, and for three days he wrote hemistich by hemistich, till they were in all forty couplets, full of Vedānta terminology and in Rekhta, i.e. Urdū. Bedil says that Shāh-e-Mulūk uttered a thousand similar verses day and night, but none was wise enough to pay attention to them. He expresses his gratefulness to the saint in the following quatrain:

بیدل چقدر بر تو نفس سوخته اند کاین شعله بیان کلامت آموخته اند
ای شمع زهر تو تو اندیشه گذاخت گریا بگداز دلت آفروخته اند

[Bedil, how much pains have they suffered for your sake?

They have taught you to versify in such an impressive manner.

O, candle, by your flame the imagination has melted;

It means they lighted you by melting their heart.]

Bedil counts Shāh Yaka Āzād¹ also among his spiritual guides. He was a saint of high standing and had come to Āra—a town² at a distance of about forty miles towards the west of Patna. Crowds came to see the saint. As Mīrzā Qalandar had no fixed abode, he was at that time residing in this town, and, not unexpectedly, Bedil also was with him. Mīrzā Qalandar soon developed intimate relations with Shāh Yaka Āzād, and was full of praise for him. Whenever the saint returned visits, Mīrzā Qalandar felt overjoyed and accorded him a hearty welcome. Bedil records³ a miracle displayed by Shāh Yaka Āzād. Once the saint was crossing the Ganges in a boat, when the river was overflowing its banks. He had no money, and in the midst of the river, he was pestered by the persistent demands of the oarsmen. All of a sudden, he stepped out of the boat, was seen walking on the river, and soon disappeared beyond the horizon.

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 15.

2. O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Shahabad*, pp. 126-30. It is headquarters of the district and a historic town. It has a Jāma' Masjid—a saracenic building erected in the times of Aurangzeb.

3. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 16.

Shāh Yaka Azād, too, was very kind to Bedil, and many secrets about the Ulūmate Reality were unfolded before him by the saint. One day in the scorching heat of the sun, Shāh Yaka Azād came suddenly to see Bedil and foretold that the excellence of the inherent powers of Bedil would soon be recognised by men of insight. He also said that his own death would occur shortly and advised Bedil always to ponder over the meaning of the following verses¹:

این توی ظاهر که پنداری توی هست اندر تری تو از بیثوی
او تراست امانه این تو که تنست آن توی کان بر تر از ما و منست
توی تو در دیگری آمد دین من غلام مرد خود بین چنین

[This visible self of yours, which you regard to be your self,
Because of lack of self-realisation has enveloped your selfhood.
That self is yours and not this, which is body,
That self which is above all egotistical sayings.
Your selfhood is entombed in another.
I am a slave to the person who realises his self in this way.]

It was essentially an advice to show greater solicitude to the inner self. The same week Shāh Yaka Azād gave up the Ghost.

Mirzā Qalandar, who, on all occasions, displayed readiness to pay homage to every saint, was also much influenced by the spiritual integrity of another holy man of distinction named Shāh Fāzil,² who disliked that legends about his sainthood should spread abroad. Bedil, who was particularly receptive to spiritual teaching, was also swayed over by this holy personage and in his company realised that:

محبت صاندلان چوهر اکسیر غناست بی صدف قطره محال است که گوهر گردد

[The company of the pure-hearted is the essence of the alchemy of self-sufficiency;

It is impossible that a drop should turn into a pearl without a mother-pearl.]

It appears³ from the statement of Bedil that, like all the Sūfis of that age, Shāh Fāzil was not only well versed in Exegesis and Ḥadīs but also in Metaphysics and Rhetoric. Bedil says that the prose of Shāh Fāzil rhymed like verse, and, in the clarification of thought, his verse excelled prose. In a discourse Shāh Fāzil beautifully described "imperfection⁴ of the phenomenal world and unreality of the

1. *Chahār Unsur*, p. 20.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 26, 83.

selfhood," and urged that one should always contemplate of Him Who is remote from all imperfections. Bedil quotes Shāh Fāzil saying:

در محفل وحدت شهود جز یکی محقق نیست پرتو اختلاف از کجا بظهور
پیوندد جمعیکه غیر حق چیزی ندیده اند و ندارند خود را بکدام صفت
منسوب نمایند 1.

[In the assembly of Unity of Appearance none but One is absolutely certain. How can then a ray of diversity appear? The people, who see and possess nothing except God, cannot attribute to themselves any quality.]

In that very meeting someone submitted his request to Shāh Sāhib in the form of the following couplet:

می توان در کلبه ماهم شبی را روز کرد بوریا گر نیست نقش بوریا افتاده است
[In our hut also a night can be changad into day.
If it has not a mat, it has at least its painting.]

Shāh Sāhib was reluctant to grant the request, and asked Bedil to reply. He forthwith composed the following verses extempore²:

خود بیا و حال ما بنگر که در ملک فنا روزگار ما ز روز و شب جدا افتاده است
کلبه وسواس است و نقش بوریا زنگار طبع کار ما با شیوه صدق و صفا افتاده است
بوریا و کلبه را در عالم ما باریست هر کجا بایم نقش مدعا افتاده است
کلبه آتش زن نقوش بوریا را محو کن در بساط فقر ما بیتی چها افتاده است
تا نخواهد سوخت از ما بر نخواهد داشت دست نیستی ما را چو آتش در قضا افتاده است

[Come here yourself and see that in the domain of annihilation

Our times are different from the ordinary serial time.

The hut is only a whim and the painting of a mat the rust of mind.

We are concerned only with sincerity and purity.

The mat and the hut cannot have access into our realm.

Wherever we be, there is not a vestige of any ambition.

Burn down the hut and efface the painting of the mat.

Then alone you will see what is hidden in the carpet of our,

Faqr.

So long as it does not consume us, it will not leave us,

Annihilation pursues us like fire.]

Bedil was in this way attending the discourses of the eminent mystics of his time, and studying privately and writing poetry,

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Şaldarî Edition, p. 49.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

when all of a sudden he felt tremors under his feet. It was the winter of 1675 A.D., and Bedil had just entered his teens. Rumours about the illness and then death of the majestic and beloved Emperor Shāh Jahān had been afloat in the land. It was being widely talked about that a prosperous and glorious reign had come to an end. A complete blackout¹ of the news about the illness of Shāh Jahān had been scrupulously arranged by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān and the aspirant to his throne. Naturally enough, wild rumours spread in the country.

Suddenly the people of Bihār learnt that prince Shujā' the Governor of Bengal, had proclaimed himself emperor and was proceeding with his armies to Shāh Jahānābād to seize the Peacock Throne. Ominous forebodings, therefore, filled the minds of the people.

Shujā' reached Benares on January 24, 1658, but was surprised by Sulaimān Shikoh, who had been deputed² by his father Dārā Shikoh to meet Shujā'. At his discomfiture, Shujā' fled back and reached Patna on February 19, 1658. As Sulaimān Shikoh was recalled on account of the threatening coalition of Aurangzeb and Prince Murād, he made peace with Shujā', and left for Dehli. Shujā' then made Patna a scene of great political activity and began to make preparations³ for the final fight for the throne. He appointed one Mīrzā 'Abdul Latīf as the commander of his armies and vigorous efforts were made to collect treasure for paying the soldiers. Mīrzā 'Abdul Latīf was a kinsman⁴ of Qalandar,⁵ and it was on this account that for three months Bedil also was in Tirhut⁶ with the armies of Shujā'. Bedil, therefore, saw with his own eyes how the upheaval went on.

Like Shujā', Murād also had hurriedly crowned himself in Gujerat. But Aurangzeb, who was in the Deccan at that time as the viceroy for the second time, assumed no royal functions. He made alliance with Murād and proceeded towards the North. At Dharmat,⁷ towards the close of April 1658, both the brothers fought stubbornly against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh (who had come to check them) and defeated him. Then Dārā Shikoh himself came out at the

1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri*, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Chahār 'Unqur*, *Safdarī Edition*, p. 118; Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri*, p. 11; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, p. 45.

4. *Chahār 'Unqur*, *Safdarī Edition*, p. 118.

5. See *supra*, where it has been told that Mīrzā Qalandar was a step-brother of Bedil's father. Hence Bedil does not acknowledge Mīrzā 'Abdul Latīf as his own relative.

6. A country towards the north of Patna.

7. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Maāsir-e-'Ālamgiri*, p. 5.

head of a huge army, and fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Sāmūgarh¹ on May 29, 1658. The fortitude and composure of Aurangzeb as a general and the fiery valour of Murād won the day. Poor Dārā turned a fugitive and Shah Jahān was made a captive. Not long afterwards, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put Murād also into prison, where he was finally put to death.

Aurangzeb was hot in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh in the Punjab, when he learnt that Shujā' was proceeding towards the capital to wrest the crown from him. Leaving others to follow up Dārā, he returned by rapid marches and gave a crushing defeat to Shujā' at Khajwa,² near Allahābād, on January 2, 1659. There was a general stampede³ of the defeated forces, and Bedil, as an eye-witness, gives a vivid description of the same in the following poem :

هیچکس را در بساط آرمیدن جا نماند
گرد وحشت بال زد چندانکه نقش یا نماند
بر طپائع تنگ شد جولانگه سخی جهان
آنقدر میدان که کس مژگان کند بالا نماند
تیغ نومیدی جهانی راز یکدیگر برید
رنگ بر رو حرف بر لب ربط در اعضا نماند
آتش جرات فسرده و جوهر غیرت کداحست
زانهمه صوت بغیر از رعب در دلها نماند
بسکه هر یک پیش رقت از عافیت گاه آید
در خیال آباد امروز کسی فردا نماند
الرحیلی زد بگوش خوابنا کان غرور
استقامت چون شرور در طینت خارا نماند
ناله تا که پیار از خور رفتنی دربار داشت
هر کرا 'دیدم' درین صحرائے وحشت و نماند

[In the field of repose room was left for none,

The dust of panic was flown so violently that footprints
disappeared.

For the people the race-course of the world narrowed to such
an extent

That even the place, where one could lift one's eyelashes,
was not left.

The sword of disappointment cut crowds asunder.

Red tinge on the face, speech on lips, and connection between
limbs was no more.

1. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āsar-e-Ālamgīrī*, pp. 6-7.

2. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

3. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 120.

The fire of valour died out, and the essence of zeal melted away.

Out of that courageous stand nothing but awe remained in hearts.

Inasmuch as everyone had gone ahead of the place of refuge.

In nobody's thoughts about today there was idea of tomorrow.

The word "Departure," struck the ears of the negligent and proud, and

Firmness in the nature of stone disappeared like a spark.

The groans reached the edges of the mountain, and

Whomever I saw he vanished from this Sahara of panic.]

Shujā' fled¹ to the Arakans where he was killed by the wild Gonds. Bedil also wandered² about in the jungles on horseback, with Mīrzā 'Abdul Latīf, for full ten days, and then reached Patna after suffering indescribable hardships.

The ignominy and captivity of Shāh Jahān had a lasting effect upon Bedil. In his childhood, like the other people of his age, he had evolved a sentiment of reverential love towards Shāh Jahān, and the infidelity of his sons, therefore, pained Bedil beyond description. He was still feeling the pangs when, in his old age, at sixty or so,³ he was writing the concluding chapter of his autobiography,⁴ i.e. Chahār 'Unsur. He wrote about Shujā':

شاه شجاع ابن شاه جهان بیساری پدر را سکنده مضمون سلطنت اندیشید
و جنبیت جنوبی بی تامل بعزم دارالخلافت دہلی کشید تا پایہ منبر عرش بخطبہ ہند
برده بلند گرداند⁵

[Shāh Shujā' son of Shāh Jahān, thought that imperial administration had been paralysed owing to the illness of his father, and, therefore, inconsiderately, he marched his mad horse upon the capital of Delhi, so that he might raise the pedestal of the pulpit of greed with a vain Khutba.]

And although for an exceptionally long period of over sixty years,

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, p. 58.

2. Chahār 'Unsur, *Ṣafdarī Edition*, pp. 120-121.

3. Bedil finished Chahār 'Unsur in 1116 A.H. = 1704 A.D. when he was sixty-two years old.

4. Chahār 'Unsur, pp. 3, 4. He says:

احوال دیگران زچہ بزخود فرودہ بدیل زخود بگو کہ تو ہم کم بنودہ

[Why have you added to yours the account of others? Bedil, talk about yourself, because you too are not an insignificant person.]

5. Chahār 'Unsur, *Ṣafdarī Edition*, p. 116.

he had heard encomiums of the "living saint" Aurangzeb, he wrote ironically about him :

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر یو عزم فرمان روانی دهلی سبقت کرده حقوق خدمت پدر
پیش از دیگران بیجا آورد 1-

[With the object of becoming the sovereign of Dehli Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr took the lead, and discharged his duty to his father before others.]

The mighty quake was, however, over, and, after the coronation of Aurangzeb, normal conditions soon returned, and Bedil too resumed his studies. After this we shall hear very little about Mīrzā Qalandar, because he left for Bengāl,² and if at all he came back, Bedil did not live under his protection. One can, therefore, safely assert that the war of succession was a milestone in the life of Bedil.

There is nevertheless one incident of Bedil's life connected with Mīrzā Qalandar, which probably belongs to this period.³ One day, at Rānī Sāgar, on the bank of a tank, whose water was crystal clear, Mīrzā Qalandar arranged a convivial meeting,⁴ Graceful female singers were invited. One of them, in the excitement of the dance, upturned a cup and wine flowed out. Fierce glances were, therefore, cast at her from the assembly. At that moment Bedil apologised on her behalf in this vein :

زدست ساقی اگر جرعه چکید بخاک در ابروی تو چرا موج ناز چین انداخت
نه ریشه در کنف ساقی نه لغزشی در جام که گویم از کفش انداخت آن و این انداخت
دمی که چشم تو سوئی پیاله کرد نگه قدح زدست شد و باده بر زمین انداخت
بعسن شوخ زمانی عتاب کن که چرا بجام آتش ازین لعل آتشین انداخت
پیاله چیست که در بزم شوخی نازت هزار آئینه آب رخ این چنین انداخت

[From the hands of Sāqī if a draught of wine fell down on earth,

1. *Chahār 'Unjūr*, p. 118.

2. Page 33, *infra*.

3. I have not been able to decide finally where to string this incident. Reference to Rānī Sāgar would induce me to connect it with the constant visits of Mīrzā Qalandar to that place, where he went to see Maulānā Kamāl. But the sacred object of his journey forbids me. The diction and phraseology of the verses suggest that the incident took place when Bedil had obtained sufficient mastery over the language. But as there is no indication of Bedil's meeting his uncle after his departure to Bengāl, I would say that it happened at the conclusion of War of Succession. But then its spirit is not in accord with the spirit of the post-war days.

4. *Chahār 'Unjūr*, pp. 54-55.

Why the wave of coquetry wrinkled your brow?
 Neither the hands of Sāqī shivered nor the cup slipped, then,
 Who, should I say, threw it down the hands and spilt wine?
 As soon as your eyes turned towards the cup,
 Down it came and out ran the wine.
 Blame sportive beauty for a while, why
 It put fire in the cup by ruby lips?
 Not to speak of the cup, in the presence of your over-bearing
 coquetry,

A thousand mirrors lost their lustre in this way.]

During these days, in 1070 A.H.¹ (1659 A.D.), Mīrzā Qalandar left for Bengāl leaving his personal effects in Mehsī²—a town about twenty kos³ from Patna lying on the other side of the Ganges, and in those days the seat of the Qāzī. A business prompted Bedil to undertake journey to this place. Although Aurangzeb was now the undisputed monarch of the country, yet, as the revolution had just ended, the roads were still infested by robbers and dacoits. But, with faith in God, Bedil set out for Mehsī, having only a servant with him.

He was a pedestrain, and never before he had the chance of making a journey in this way. Blisters soon appeared, and, after crossing the Ganges, when he had travelled only three kos, he sat down under a tree to take rest. He was utterly exhausted. His clever servant at first encouraged him, and then made sarcastic remarks, but Bedil would not move. As it was dangerous in those days to remain there any longer, Bedil mustered up strength and treaded the intervening distance of two kos to Sara-e-Jamnapur till late in the evening.

Next morning at daybreak he was feeling no weariness. He wanted to hire a horse, but the people on their part tried to dissuade him from continuing the journey any further. Bedil, however, went on. At midday, when he had covered another three kos and when it was intensely hot, he stopped under the cool shade of a tree for repose. When the sun declined and he was about to resume his journey, one Jān Muḥammad arrived there with a mare and offered it to Bedil. Jān Muḥammad was a follower of Shāh Muḥammad, the next-door neighbour of Mīrzā Qalandar in Mehsī. The darvish was an old man, and Bedil did not like that the poor fellow should walk all the way and he himself should ride. Even the importunities of the compassionate darvish could not have prevailed but he ran away

1. *Chahār Unṣur*, Safdarī Edition, pp. 124-28.

2. O. Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Champaran*, p. 154.

3. A kos is equal to a mile and a half.

leaving the mare behind when Bedil had gone aside to urinate. Bedil was now left with no alternative but to mount the mare. After travelling a distance of three kos, a place called Sera-e-Begoli was reached in the evening. The darvish had already arrived there. They passed the night in that serai (inn).

Next day Bedil covered the remaining nine kos on the same mare which had again been cleverly placed at his disposal. They reached Mehsī in the afternoon. The mare was gratefully handed over to Jān Muḥammad at the door of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad, and Bedil went to the house of his uncle. Next day the Khwāja's sons came to see him as usual, and Bedil was overflowing with gratitude for the kindness shown to him by Jān Muḥammad.¹

Before proceeding further, I would like to pause a little. This journey is manifestly a very important event of Bedil's life, and we can draw several conclusions. Bedil had a servant with him and he says blisters soon appeared when he had travelled only a few miles. These things show that he was brought up in a well-to-do family. And, in spite of the troublesome nature of the times, Bedil undertook the journey and also he did not arrange for a guide. This shows not only self-confidence but also his knowledge of the road to Mehsī. Again, the sons of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad come to welcome him as usual and we, therefore, learn that they were playmates. It is a positive proof of the fact that Bedil passed not a negligible part of his childhood in Mehsī. The whole picture, therefore, stresses the point that Patna and Mehsī are intimately connected with the early days of Bedil.

It appears that when Mīrzā Qalandar had left for Bengāl, Bedil began to live in Patna with his maternal uncle² Mīrzā Zarif who had attained a high degree of proficiency in Hadīs and Fiqh (Jurisprudence). His house was, therefore, a rendezvous for the men of erudition who came there for holding scholarly discourses. Bedil also attended those meetings and most attentively he heard and assimilated what was discussed there. Bedil describes how in such a meeting problems of metaphysics and philosophy were solved by a distinguished divine Shāh Abul Faiz.³ Early timidity of Bedil had now disappeared and he displayed his literary genius on every occasion. At the end of

1. Bedil gives a supernatural tinge to the incident towards the end. He says that the sons of Khwāja Shāh Muḥammad vehemently denied that they had a disciple named Jān Muḥammad. Similarly, at page 121 of Chahār 'Unsur Bedil says that when he was in Tirhut during the War of Succession, he saw, with others, a peri in an unusually elegant and magnificent bungalow. We shall again come across such like apparitions in the course of Bedil's biography.

2. Chahār 'Unsur, Saifdarī Edition, p. 29.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 50

this meeting he composed the following quatrain¹ which Shāh Abul Faiz very much appreciated:

ای دل زغم و نشاط دوران بگذر ازیش و کم و بیش و آسان بگذر
درکشن دهر چون نسیم دم صبح آزاده درآ و دامن افشان بگذر

[O heart, think not of the sorrows and pleasures of the world,
Think not also of increase and decrease or of the difficulties
and convenience.

In the garden of the world like the morning breeze,
Come with a free mind and pass on with a light spirit.]

Mīrzā Zarīf was a trader,² and, perhaps, as such in 1071 A.H.³ (1660 A.D.) he went to Cuttack, the capital of Orissa. Mīrzā Bedil also accompanied him. Cuttack⁴ is situated on the Mahānadī and is a trade centre of some importance. People say it was founded by a prince named Makar of the Kesarī or Lion dynasty. Since the reign of Akbar the Great it had been the capital of Mughul *ṣubedārs*, and when Bedil went there Khān Daurān Sayyid Muḥammad⁵ was the *Ṣubedār* of Orissa. Cuttack has a picturesque appearance in the apex of the Mahānadī and its branch the Katjurī. It has an extensive plain and lofty trees which line the foot and the sides of a chain of high mountains. Surrounded on all sides by such fascinating scenes, Bedil lived in a house on the riverbank,⁶ and, I am sure, the irresistible charm of these surroundings captured his imagination and developed his aesthetic taste. In his *Chahār 'Unsur*, Bedil makes a mention of the flowering meadows⁷ of Cuttack.

We already know that Mīrzā Zarīf was a learned man. I think, he wanted to teach the commentary of the Holy Qurān to Bedil, and, with a view to do this, one day he had a disputation with the boy on this subject.⁸ Suddenly, a *darvīsh* came and said that a saint had come to see them. They welcomed the saint most heartily. He was very kind to Bedil especially and remarked, "Thank God, both of us have arrived here together. Now we shall always enjoy each other's company." He then displayed his mastery of the exegesis by explaining most lucidly a few verses from the Holy Qurān. Both, Mīrzā Zarīf and Bedil, were so much impressed that in that very meeting they developed sincere and everlasting attachment for him. When the

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 42.

5. *O. Mally, Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Cuttack*, pp. 225-28.

Chahār 'Unsur, p. 54.

6. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 43.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 38.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

saint was departing, he turned towards Bedil and said, "I have discovered your secret. Let me be a partaker in it." By an act of clairvoyance, the saint had discovered the secret of Bedil's love for God, which he had, so far, kept concealed from every other person and which had caused endless burning¹ in his breast.

The name of this saint was Shāh-e-Qasim Huwallāhī² and he had arrived in Orissa from India in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.), the same year when Bedil also arrived there. Bedil waxes eloquent when he speaks of the saint. A fair analysis of these laudatory effusions discloses that the saint was well versed in Grammar, Exegesis, and Metaphysics, and could profusely cite apt quotations. He had passed through all the stages of mysticism, had attained the Unitive State and was the Pole³ (قطب) of his times. A saint of high spiritual standing as he was, he could, now and then, display miracles.⁴ Association with such an eminent spiritual leader was, therefore, very useful for Bedil, because he was still at the formative stage of his life. Whatever Bedil wrote,⁵ in verse or prose, was shown to Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī who always generously encouraged him.

During his stay at Cuttack, Bedil studied selections⁶ from the *Tazkiratul Auliya* of Shākh Farīduddīn 'Aḡḡār, and one day⁷ when he was deep in thought Shāh-e-Qāsim unexpectedly came in. Shāh Sāhib enquired what the matter was. Bedil replied that he was pondering over the following saying of the saint Shiblī (334/945):

التصوف شرك لأنه حيانت القلب عن غير ولا غير

[Sūfism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'Other' and 'other' does not exist.⁸]

Shāh-e-Qāsim was highly pleased to know it, and asked Bedil to prepare a collection of the sayings of saints. Bedil readily acted upon his advice, and, at the end of the preface of his work, he wrote a poem in which unambiguous references to the different problems of mysticism were made. This poem also won the approbation of Shāh Sāhib. The collection unfortunately has not come

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 42, 44. At page 44 we find that Mīrzā Zarīf complained to Shāh-e-Qāsim about the indifference of Bedil to studies which he sometimes showed. Then Shāh-e-Qāsim said in private to Bedil, "You are a strange fellow; You have concealed your secret even from your own relatives."

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 29.

3. An eminent figure in mystic hierarchy.

4. *Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 32-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

8. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Nicholson for this translation. See Nicholson, R.A., *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 38.

down to us, but the poem has been given¹ in *Chahār 'Unsur* and has sixty-two couplets.

On another occasion, *Shāh-e-Qāsim* was sitting² in the house of *Mīrzā Zarīf* and some litterateurs had also assembled there. By and by, discussion centred on the figures of speech. The poet *Wālah*³ of *Herāt* was also there, who, *Bedil* says, was a *Tazagū*⁴ poet; and whose mastery over language and colourful images (تمکین عبارت و مضامین رنگین) have been acclaimed by *Bedil*. Modern people may regard it as frivolities of taste, but right from the days of *Faizī*, the renowned poet-laureate of *Akbar the Great*, who wrote his commentary⁵ avoiding all dotted letters, solicitude had been shown for the figures of speech in which letters either with or without dots were employed. In that assembly, too, such like figures of speech were discussed. *Bedil* also successfully tried his hands at these figures. On that occasion he composed the following couplet having all dotted letters which he later on incorporated⁶ in his *Masnavī Tīlism-e-Hairat*:

بجنبش تیغ زن چین جبینش غضب پشتی نشین نقش چینش

[In motion, the wrinkles of its brow cut like sword, and
Anger adds to the effect of its wrinkles.]

When *Shāh-e-Qāsim* heard this verse he remarked that not only it rhymed well but also it was picturesque.

In their meeting *Shāh-e-Qāsim* always asked *Bedil* to come forward with an appropriate quotation. This shows not only the regard of the saint for the brilliant young man but also the grand and goodly number of verses which *Bedil* always remembered. Moreover, such was the influence of *Shāh Šāhib* upon *Bedil*, and the affinity between their souls was so close, that even in his dreams⁷ *Bedil* found himself quoting verses at the instance of *Shāh Šāhib*. One night in a dream *Bedil* found himself in a meeting with *Shāh Šāhib*, where a discussion was going on about 'Modesty.' The saint asked *Bedil* to come forward with an appropriate verse, and *Bedil* said extempore:

حیا خواندم نگه گرد در خط ماند ادب کردم رقم خط در نقط ماند

[I read 'Modesty' and my glances remained stuck in the dust
of the ink.]

I was courteous and the ink of the writ remained in the dots.]

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, Safdarī Edition, p. 58.

2. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

3. *Sarkhūsh, Kalimatush Shu'ra*, p. 124.

4. See *infra* for *Tāzagū*.

5. 'Abdul Ghāfi, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, II, pp. 41, 66.

6. *Bedil, Kulīyāt, Tīlism-e-Hairat*, Safdarī Edition, p. 33. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 62.

7. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 69.

A few days later some persons were studying the pamphlet, *Selections from Tazkiratul Auliya*, in the presence of Shāh-e-Qāsim, and when that place was reached where a certain person asked Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī what 'Modesty' meant, then Shāh Sāhib remarked, "Bedil, its real import is the same you expressed so tersely that night." Bedil was of the opinion that Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī ranked in spiritual attainments with Bāyazīd² (261/875), Ibrāhīm Adham (160/777), Junaid (298/910), and Shiblī (334/945), the celebrated mystics of Islām.

Once, in connection with his commercial concern, Mīrzā Zarīf went to Kesarī³—a town which, Bedil says, was at a distance of six days' journey from Cuttack and had a dry hot climate. Of course, Bedil too went with Mīrzā Zarīf and was there for a period of five months. On account of the extreme heat of the place, Bedil fell dangerously ill with typhoid fever. On the night of crisis Bedil dreamt that Shāh-e-Qāsim had arrived to enquire after his health, and spread his mantle upon him. Soon the fever was gone and Bedil was convalescing. Seven days later a messenger brought an epistle from Shāh Sāhib stating that distance could not separate two harmonious souls; they might not see each other, but in reality they were always close together.

In Orissa we observe a strange spiritual⁴ awakening in Bedil. He considered himself above all worldly considerations. Material possessions, hopes and fears, worldly honour and dishonour alike, ceased to have any value for him. Whether awake or asleep, he was occupied only with the thoughts of the Absolute. It was a burning passion with him which consumed his soul. In a fit of ecstasy he would cry out :

از هر چه سرائت فزونی خود گوئی چه گوئمت که چونی

[Thou transcendest my praises of Thee,

Say Thyself, what should I say, how art Thou?]

In this state of mind one night in Cuttack in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) he saw in a dream that all the surroundings were illuminated and he was reciting the couplet given above. Suddenly, he heard the following reply :

از ما با ماست هر چه گوئیم ما همچو توئی دگر چه گوئیم

1. 'Attār, *Tazkiratul Auliya*, p. 97.

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 29.

3. Ibid., p. 41. I tried my level best to find out Kesarī from Gazetteers, Geography books, and maps, but failed. The Kings of Kesarī dynasty built temples at Bhubaneswar, Naltigiri, Udyagiri, and Ratnagiri. It is just possible one of these places was called Kesarī in those days. The last three places are within 20°39' N. and 85°20' E. near the sea-coast and their climate in the summer season is very hot and dry. Also these places are farther removed from Cuttack.

4. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 63.

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like thee ; what else should we say ?]

- This was pantheistic in import. On hearing it, he awoke. Bedil says that at that time he was experiencing a novel spiritual felicity. Early contact with saints was after all bearing fruit.

Bedil has remarked that he was with Shāh-e-Qāsim in Orissa for three years.¹ But he reached there in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) and from the preceding paragraph we learn that he was there till 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.). When all these things are put together we arrive at the conclusion that he must have gone to Orissa towards the end of 1071/1660, and returned in the beginning of 1075/1664.

Bedil was now twenty-one years old—in the full bloom of life. Middle-sized,² broad-shouldered, and with a stout body, he had a very handsome face. He shaved himself clean. The archs of his eyebrows beautifully approached each other, and his brilliant broad forehead was indicative of the greatness which was destined for him. He spoke in low tones which only heightened the effect of his impressive and dignified appearance.

A descendant of the strong and energetic Mughuls as he was, he possessed herculean strength, to develop which he had made sustained efforts ever since his childhood.³ He had practised the art of wrestling, and every day for the sake of exercise, he would sit and stand four thousand times. He was also extraordinarily fleet-footed. Khushgū says that during the days when Bedil was in Patna, a trader brought for sale a fine Mesopotamian⁴ horse worth Rs. 1,000. He had a mind to buy it, and he wagered that if the horse proved his equal in race, he would pay Rs. 2,000 ; but if he outdistanced it, he would get the horse free. The owner agreed and himself jockeyed his horse. The race began in an extensive field and very soon Bedil was flying far ahead of the horse. Khushgū says that although Bedil won the race, still he was magnanimous enough not to take the animal as agreed upon.⁵

Fickleness of Fortune had always marred the happiness of Bedil. He lost his parents when he was but an infant. His kind and loving

1. *Chahār Unsur*, p. 29.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 364.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.* We know Bedil never returned to Patna after he had left it in 1075 A.H. (p. 31, *infra*). This race, therefore, took place at this time.

5. I do not know how to believe Khushgū for this story of a race with a fine horse.

uncle left him¹ and went away to Bengāl, when he still needed his protection. He was now happy under the care of his maternal uncle Mīrzā Zarīf, and was busy in his studies when, alas, this guardian also passed away. He felt a bitter grief, and mourned this loss in a poem² wherein the following hemistich occurs as a chronogram :

نیک فرجام عاقبت محمود

This numerically comes to 1075 A.H.

There was now none to support him. He had no source of income. How to arrange for the daily expenses was a constant headache. An old woman,³ with crooked back, visited Bedil's house and used to supply commodities to him daily. She was very kind to him. In these straitened circumstances also she looked after him. But this could not continue any longer. Loans could serve only as a temporary expedient. His friends advised him to go to Dehli, the Imperial capital, where he could show his worth. He loaded his simple effects (that is an ordinary carpet and an earthen jug) on a horse, and, with reins in his hands, went to say goodbye to the old woman. He said *impromptu* :

سر ہر جب کوئی نہیں تب دشمن آہن کہیں
ہند نگر چھاڑ دیں اب بیدل چلے بدیس

[When there is no guardian, all are my enemies,

Bedil leaves Patna town and goes to a foreign land.]

The hunch-backed old woman was very tender-hearted. Tears rolled down her cheeks and she said sorrowfully :

سر ہر مایا رام ہے بہن کہ بدے بے صبری بیدل بھی کر مت چھاڑو پرتا آہن نگر

[God is the guardian, why then so much impatience ?

Bedil, don't leave it, my son. It is native town.]

1. Bedil says that as Mīrzā Zarīf insisted that he (Bedil) should accompany him to Orissa he was separated from his uncle Mīrzā Qalandar. Whether Mīrzā Qalandar left for Bengāl when he found out the determination of Mīrzā Zarīf for taking away Bedil with him is not of much significance. Also we do not possess any statement regarding the reunion of the nephew and the uncle after the latter's return from Bengāl. It was therefore permanent separation. For Mīrzā Zarīf's insistence, see *Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 29.

2. Bedil, *Kulliyāt, Qitṣāt*, Safdarī Edition, p. 48.

3. Shād 'Azīmābādi, *Nawā-e-Waṣan*, p. 69; *The Oriental College Magazine* for August 1932. Also reference in the *Urdū Magazine* for January 1923, p. 59.

But Bedil was determined to leave. He said: *راہبر خدا بس* which gives 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) as the year of his departure, and set off all alone for Dehli.

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1. *Kulliy'ât-e-Safdar Qitt'ât*, p. 51. Here is the stanza :

از ملک بہار موی دہلی	چون اشک روان شدیم بیکس
ہمدوش شہود فضل بیچوں	ہمراہ حضور فیض اقدس
سال تاریخ این عزیت	دریاب کہ راہبر خدا بس

[From Bihar to Dehli,
I set off all alone like a tear,
Shoulder to shoulder with God's grace, and
In the company of His favours.
The date of this journey
May be found from : 'God, and none else, the guide.']

CHAPTER II

Bedil—An Itinerant

WE left Bedil on his way to Dehlī. Shād 'Azīmābādī says¹ that it was a difficult journey for him. According to the same authority, Bedil, on his arrival in the Imperial Capital, found that poetical contests and symposiums were commonly held, in which renowned poets took part, and, as he possessed a critical judgment and sublime ideas, his genius cast a novel lustre over that galaxy of illustrious poets, and he, therefore, became famous in the capital within no time. This statement of Shād 'Azīmābādī is only partially correct. Bedil's talents were not recognised so suddenly; but it is a fact that, within a few years of his arrival in Dehlī, Bedil enjoyed unrivalled fame in the capital.

We do not know which of the eminent living poets took part in those contests.² Ghanī Kashmīrī was alive (d. 1079/1668-69), but he was living in Kashmīr. The great Ṣāib³ (d. 1080/1669-70) also had left for Iran. As regards Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī⁴ (d. 1108/1696-97), the chief rival⁵ of Bedil, he came to live in Shāhjahānābād in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Hījra. And, so far as Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhush⁶ (d. 1126/1714), another rival⁷ of Bedil, is concerned, he too settled in the capital towards the later part of his life. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī,⁸ a favourite noble of Aurangzeb and a mystic poet, could be expected in Dehlī at that time, and we know Bedil developed very intimate friendly relations⁹ with him, but as nothing definite is known, I cannot say that he came in contact with Bedil in those days.

1. Shād 'Azīmābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṣṭan*, p. 71. *Oriental College Magazine*, August 1932.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

5. Sher Khān Lohdī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, pp. 389-90; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 43.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 143; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 51.

7. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 15; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 43.

8. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shua'rā*, p. 40; Sher Khān Lohdī, *Mirātul Khayāl*, p. 288; Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Bazm-e-Timūriya*, pp. 267-69.

9. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, pp. 40-41.

Although we may not definitely know the names of the poets referred to by Shād, yet it is a fact that on his arrival in Shāh Jahān-ābād, Bedil was introduced to a new style in poetry. He himself has admitted¹ that so long as he was in Bihār, he was writing in the style of the classical Persian poets. Now he had found that quite a new style flourished in the Mughal capital—the style which has been called the Indian style, or سبک هندی.² Bedil enumerates a few poets of the eras of Bābur, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb in the preface³ to his *Masnavi Muhiṭ-e-A'zam*, which he wrote a couple of years later, and from there we learn that he had studied the works of the poets of the Mughal period. He names⁴ Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616), Hilālī (a poet of Bābur's times), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Tālib (d. 1036/1626-27), Ṣāmit (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Shaidā, a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Salīm (d. 1057/1647), and Ṣāib.

When we consider the salient characteristics of the poetry of these poets, we discover that with them originality of thought, elegance of style and freshness of expression were of paramount importance. This they had termed تازه گوئی. If we go through *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, a Tazkirah of the poets of those times, we find that at every page glowing tribute has been paid to almost every poet for this element of freshness in thought and expression. Nazīrī (d. 1023/1614) in particular had shown a knack for the construction of new words and suggestive compounds. Mullā Zuhūrī,⁵ a contemporary of Nazīrī, had evolved a new graceful and ornate prose style and his *Sāqī Nāma*, which is a monument of perfect rhyme, sweetness of illustration, and warmth of emotion, had carved out for him a niche in the domain of literature. Kalīm (d. 1061/1650-51), Ṣāib and Ghanī Kashmīrī, the ultra-Mughalites,⁷ had marvellously employed⁸

1. Page 22, *supra*.

2. Three styles, viz. 'Irāqī, Khurāsānī, and Hindī, have been differentiated in Persian poetry. See Shihābī, 'Ali Akbar, *Rawḍih-e-Adebi-e-I-ān-o-Hind*. Though the author's attitude, towards Persian poetry produced in India, is basically of negative character, yet it throws some light on the three styles in question.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdarī Edition; *Muhiṭ-e-A'zam*, pp. 2-3.

4. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Sarm-e-Azād*, pp. 34, 41, 43, 63, 82, 91-101, 103 and 109, for Zuhūrī, Zulālī, Tālib, Salīm, Shaidā, Ṣāib, Ghanī, and Sālik respectively. Sākhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 68, for Ṣāmit. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, 429, for Hilālī.

5. Ghanī, A., *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, III, 102.

6. *Ibid.*, 139, 194, 203.

7. Shihābī *Naṣmānī*, *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, III, 170, 173.

8. شاید *Bedil*:

کینه در طبع ملائم نکند نشو و نما
فارغ از جوش غبار است زمینی که تم است

poetical aetiology (حسن تعلیل) and aptness of illustration (عنایه) and they were known for their original conceits (معنی آفرینی) and colourful images (رنگین خیالی).

Bedil could not remain indifferent to these elements in Persian poetry. According to *Khushgū*,¹ critical observation indisputably affirms the fact that Bedil followed Zuhūrī in writing prose. Besides, the *Masnavī Muḥit-e-A'zam* of Bedil, to which he himself gives the name² of *Sāqī Nāmā*, is unmistakably an echo³ of the *Sāqī Nāmā* of Zuhūrī. In the preface to *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, referred to above, we learn, however, that Bedil recognised only the genius of Šāib. Bedil may not acknowledge his indebtedness to the Tāzagū Shua'rā, but his works undoubtedly point out that he was enamoured of the above-mentioned features of Tāzagū.⁴ I think, it would be desirable if at this stage a few verses of Bedil are also quoted, with a view to showing that this new element is reflected in his lyrical poetry:

بد فکر تازه گویان گر خیالم پر تواندازد
بر طائوس گردد جدول اوراق دیوانها

بیدل از رنگین خیالی های فکرت می سزد
جدول رنگ بهار اوراق دیوان ترا

بیدل از هر مصرع موج نزاکت می چکد
کرده ام رنگین بیخون میدان لاغر تیغ را

چنین کز کلک ما رنگ منانی می چکد بیدل
توان گفتن رگ ابر بهار این ناودانانرا

[If my thoughts are reflected in the minds of the Tāzagū poets,
The rubric of the leaves of their Dīwāns would change
into peacock feathers.]

A theory has been advanced in the first hemistich and has been proved by a concrete example in the second.

Bedil حسن تعلیل

این قدر تعظیم نیرنگ هم ابروی کیست حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها
The cause of an ordinary phenomenon is told poetically in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused.

Bedil معنی آفرینی

مرده هم فکر قیامت دارد آرسیدن چقدر دشوار است

Here a new meaning has been found out from the anxiety about the Day of Judgment. Mental process involved in حسن تعلیل and معنی آفرینی is the same. See Shibli. *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, III, 170.

1. *Khushgū*, *Safina*, f. 126A (Panjab University Library Ms. No. 4540).

2. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 12.

3. *Kuliyāt-e-Bedil*, Şafdarī Edition, *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, pp. 2-3.

4. See again the elements of Tāzagū (تازه گوئی) given at p. 33, supra.

Because of your colourful conceits, it behoves, O Bedil,
That the leaves of your *Diwān* should have a rubric made
of the spring's colour.

O Bedil, a wave of subtlety trickles down my hemistiches.
I have dyed my sword with the blood of a lean victim.
As the colour of conceits trickles down my pen in this way,
O Bedil!

One can say that these gutters are in reality the arteries
of the vernal clouds.]

The words رنگ معانی and موج نزاکت , رنگین خیالی , تازه گویان may be noted in these verses. Moreover, in describing the figures مثالیه , محالیه and معنی آفرینی at pages 33-34 under note number 8 I have purposely quoted from Bedil. All this shows that no sooner did Bedil say good-bye to Bihār and arrive in Dehlī, than his mind was directed to new channels of expression.

Although Bedil was studying the current trends in Persian poetry, yet his main preoccupation was mysticism. During those days in Dehlī he fasted¹ continually, breaking the fast only with a handful of gram. This fasting made him very weak. *Ṣūfīs* say: المشاهدات موارثه, i.e. visions are the successors of the acts of self-mortification. When Bedil was in this way putting himself to tribulation for the sake of God, he had a strange experience. One night when the bazars had closed and he was returning after a stroll through them, he found himself bodily lifted in the air. If he stopped and contemplated he was on the ground, but as soon as he lifted his foot to walk he was again up in the air. He was much perturbed and trembled with fear. He made supreme efforts and with much difficulty was out of the bazars. When he was walking amidst the palaces of the nobles, he was again lifted bodily, as if he was flying, and he could see above the high walls in the compound of a palace where a graceful lady was sewing in the light of a lamp. He was afraid lest the people should upbraid him for this act. He sat down for a while, and then somehow or other he went to the house of an acquaintance, from where he deputed a boy to ascertain if what he had seen was a fact. The boy returned and corroborated Bedil's experience even to the minutest details. For a long time Bedil remained disturbed on account of this happening.

Soon in Dehlī he came across a *Ṣūfī* who was firmly established in the path and was already known to him. One day they

1. *Kulliyāt-i-Bedil, Ḥaḥār 'Unṣar*, pp. 116-18.

2. Abul Khair, in *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 63

were talking about the ecstasied saints.¹ It was now 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) just a year after his marvellous dream in Orissa.² One of the persons, who were present there, said that a saint lived in the ruins of the city, who, for weeks on end, cared little for eating and drinking, but when anything of the kind, even in very big quantities, was presented to him, he swallowed it up in a moment. In spite of his humbleness, his appearance was so majestic that none dared look at him. As at some previous date he was seen in Kabul, he was called Shāh-e-Kābulī. After that talk, when they sat down for dinner, Shāh-e-Kābulī suddenly made his appearance. All stood up to show respect to him and meal was offered to him. From the very beginning the saint was looking graciously at Bedil and now preferred to share his dish. After taking a few morsels he held Bedil's hand in his own and made with him for his residence. There they sat down facing each other without uttering even a single word. The enchanting gaze of the saint was fixed at Bedil. It was in the afternoon that this eerie silence began and continued till late in the evening. Then all of a sudden Shāh-e-Kābulī burst into a loud laughter and recited the following couplet which Bedil had heard in a dream in Cuttack:

از ما با ماست هر چه گوئیم ما همچو توئی دگر چه گوئیم

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like Thee; what else should we say?]

On hearing this Bedil began to tremble. The night was pitch dark; everything looked so weird. Bedil, therefore, was very much frightened. With quivering lips he asked who the author of the couplet was. The saint laughed again merrily and replied that he himself was the author, there being no room for doubt. At this the saint stretched himself and asked Bedil also to lie down and enjoy sleep.

But Bedil sat extremely terrified. He was almost unconscious. He liked very much to weep but could not. He was in this agitated condition till very late in the night, when he fell asleep. Next morning when Bedil awoke, Shāh-e-Kābulī had already disappeared. Bedil made a thorough search for the saint for a long time, but failed to find him out.

This event removed all the doubts³ which Bedil had in his mind, and made him confident about the progress he had made in the spiritual field. Telepathic communications emanating from Shāh-e-Kābulī appeared to Bedil as revelations from God Himself. He thought he had attained the unitive state and therefore he remarked:

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 64.

2. Page 28, *supra*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Şafdarī Edition*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 64.

عالم همه یک برق تجلی دیدم / محمل گردے نداشت لیلی دیدم
 زین سرمد که حق کشید در دیده من / هر جا لفظی دمید معنی دیدم

[I saw all over the world a lightning—like illumination.
 The litter had no dust, I saw Laila herself.
 Because of the collyrium that Truth applied to my eyes,
 I saw the meaning wherever a word rose up.]

This event is of the utmost significance in the spiritual development of Bedil. Since his very childhood he had sincere yearnings¹ for establishing direct contact with Reality; and saints² like Shāh-e-Kamāl, Shāh-e-Yakā Āzād, Shāh-e-Fāzil and Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī had all told him he would reach the farthest stage in the mystic path. But the illumination at Cuttack and its voluntary verification by Shah-e-Kabulī, who knew nothing about that vision and the antecedents of Bedil, was certainly a convincing proof of the fact that the much desired union with God had been assured. That is why Bedil says symbolically that he had the vision of Laila (the Beloved) herself. Moreover, with Bedil, the vision, the saint, and his own person were one and the same thing. It had been emphatically reiterated that:

با هیچ توئی دگر چه گوئیم

He has also asserted³ elsewhere:

در یقین آباد عالم تحقیق اولیای حضرت حق عین حق اند - اگر از نور بافتاب
 چشم کشوده آفتاب جز نور چه دارد و اگر از آب به چشمه راه برده چشمه غیر از
 آب چه برمی آورد ؟

[In the realm of Truth, where profound convictions are the rule, the lovers of Reality are nothing but Reality Itself. If from the light you turn to sun, the sun has nothing except light; and if from the water you have been guided to the spring, the spring does not send forth anything except water.]

One would rush to the conclusion that it is pantheism, pure and simple. But we have not yet considered enough data and we should, therefore, abstain from arriving at the final conclusion.

Bedil had made noteworthy achievements in the literary as well as the spiritual fields in the year 1076/1665-66 and he would have, therefore, felt gratified, but two very sad events took place at this time which made him extremely sorrowful. Shāh Jahān, the Mughul

1. See supra.

2. See supra. *Chahār 'Unqur*, p. 44.

3. *Chahār 'Unqur*, p. 28.

Emperor, for whom Bedil had¹ deep sentiments of respect and love, died of strangury, in captivity, in the Akbarābād fort on Monday,² the 26th of Rajab, 1076 A.H. (first of February, 1666). The poet was painfully reminded of all the good and grand qualities of Shāh Jahān; he, therefore, wrote³ most dolefully about the glorious past in a very sad elegy, and for the gracious Emperor's death he found out the following chronogram :

بر سر بر قرب بزدان جای وی

The elegy becomes more significant when we remember that Bedil could not expect any reward from Aurangzeb, who had made Shāh Jahān a captive.

In this very year Bedil's uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, also breathed his last. If, for the sake of comparison, we study the short poem,⁴ written by the poet on the death of his uncle, we find, even after a cursory reading, that Bedil's emotional frame was shaken more perilously by the death of Shāh Jahān. Moreover, in his verses Bedil speaks frequently about the transitoriness of the world, e.g.

رنگها یکسر شکست آماده اند این گلستان عالم مینا گریست

[All colour is ready to disappear completely ;

This garden is a place where decanters are made and broken] and, I think, the woeful end of Shāh Jahān, rather the complete drama of his life, contributed not a little in his arriving at this conclusion. The war of succession, with all its piteous scenes, including the tragic end of once stately Dārā Shikoh, who was beheaded in 1659 A.D., after being paraded most disgracefully⁵ through the streets of Dehlī, turned our poet's thoughts automatically⁶ to matters of eternal significance: the nature of life and man, and his relation to God. The truth contained in the following Quranic verse⁷ was brought home to him with greater force :

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَ يَبْقَىٰ وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ

[Everyone that is thereon will pass away. There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord, the Mighty and Glorious.]

1. See supra.

2. Sāqī, Musta'id Khān. *Ma'āzīr-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 53 ; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-ul Lubāb*, II, p. 187.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari, Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 57.

4. Ibid., p. 47. The chronogram about the death of the poet's uncle is :

تلذذ یافت وصل جاودانی

5. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughul Empire*, pp. 98-99.

6. Arberry, Arthur J., *The History of Sufism*, preface XIX.

7. *The Holy Qurān*, LV, {26-27}.

In a *Ghazal* Bedil elaborates his views more fully about illusory nature of the world. I quote only two verses :

جان هیچ وجه هیچ نفس هیچ و بقا هیچ ای هستی تو ننگ عدم تا یکجا هیچ
دیدنی عدم هستی و چیدی الم دهر با اینهمه عبرت ندید از تو حیا هیچ

[Life is nothing. Body, and survival are all nothing.

Even non-existence, scorns your life. How long shall

"Nothing" continue?

You have observed the instability of life and have tasted the misfortunes of the world ;

In spite of these warnings you do not feel ashamed.]

Although it is a profound truth, yet it looks very pessimistic but our poet-thinker¹ did not stop here. We shall, in due course, see how side by side with this negative attitude, Bedil evolved his positive philosophy about life.

Bedil was in Dehli, but we do not know how long or where he stayed in the capital, nor do we know the means of his livelihood. We are trying to follow him chronologically, but many of the dates and other details, which we so earnestly desire to ascertain, have not been given either by Bedil himself or by his biographers. In the previous pages, a few events of the year 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.) have been recorded. Now we take a leap and reach the year 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.) in which Bedil completed his *Masnavi Muḥīt-e A'zam*. The date² of the completion of this poem is the numerical value of its name محیط اعظم. As the *Masnavi* is a masterpiece, it should have established the poet's fame in the literary world but, it appears, no notice of him was taken at the time. On some later date he sent a letter to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, a courtier of Aurangzeb, with this *Masnavi* and a few *Ghazals*, and from that letter we learn that his first literary production did not bring Bedil the fame he had hoped for. The letter³ also shows that when it was written Bedil had already been introduced to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, but the contact was only of short duration, because the poet was afraid lest the Nawāb should forget him. We do not know definitely how Bedil was introduced to the Nawāb. This much, however, is known that when Bedil arrived in Dehli for the first time, and began to take part in poetical contests, 'Āqil Khān Rāzī was living there as the Superintendent⁴ of the Imperial Bathroom. Now as the Nawāb was himself a

1. Iqbal, Dr. Sir Muḥammad, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 11.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Şafdari Edition, *Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, 3.

3. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.

4. Shāh Nawāz, *Mas̄nū'at Umrā*, II, 811-22.

poet and also a mystic, he would have discovered Bedil in the course of those symposiums. In 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), Bedil wrote his second *Masnavī Tilism-e-Hairat* which he dedicated² to 'Aql Khān Rāzī. It shows that by that time their relations had certainly strengthened. I would, therefore, conclude that Bedil was introduced to 'Aql Khān Rāzī a considerable time before 1080 A.H. and also that the poet wrote this letter to the Nawāb before this date and sometime after the composition of *Muhīt-e-A'zam*. When Bedil found out that this *Masnavī* was not received warmly, he sent a copy of it to the Nawāb and hoped and prayed that it might bring him credit.

Although the poet was not now an unknown figure in Dehli, yet he did not settle there, and, like a darwish, he preferred wandering³ about. The restlessness of his soul, which had increased after his meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī, was still there. One day he was passing through the valley of Brindaban⁴—the land of monkeys and peacocks. The summer sun was shining brightly in the sky and it was awfully hot. Suddenly, Bedil developed eyesore, and the pain was so acute that he could not open his eyes. The affliction disturbed him much, and he thought he must have refuge somewhere until the malady disappeared. In this state he reached the marketplace of Mathura.⁵ He was a stranger there. He tried his utmost to find some shelter, but the people were ungenerous. In the tiny corner of a darner's shop, he found room to seat himself. His eyes were shut and the pain was growing in intensity. Still he did not mention it, lest the darner should turn him out. After some time a man came near the shop and stopped. The darner paid his respect and requested him to take his seat, adding that the stranger (Bedil) would be asked to make room. But the newcomer said that the poor afflicted person, meaning Bedil, was his friend and he wanted to enquire after his health. It was a familiar voice. When Bedil opened his eyes, he saw Shāh-e-Kābulī smiling compassionately. Bedil rose respectfully and had hardly greeted Shāh Sāhib, when he was asked, in a tone of authority, to lie down and sleep. Shāh-e-Kābulī added that he would wait there. When Bedil awoke Shāh-e-Kābulī had gone. He had come like the guardian spirit and then disappeared. The eyesore had, however, healed. This happened two years after their first⁶ meeting, i.e. in 1078 A.H. (1667-68

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mirāsul Khayāl*, pp.288-90; Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā* 40, note.

2. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 4.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Salfarsi Edition, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 66.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, I, 386.

5. *Ibid.*, 389-90. It is the birthplace of Krishna and a great seat of idolatry.

6. Page 35, *supra*.

A.D.) because the first had taken place in 1075 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.).

- In the course of his wanderings Bedil went to Akbarābād¹ also. He makes no hint about the date of this visit to Akbarābād, but from the mode of his life in that city I conclude that the visit was made during the period when he was comparatively an unknown figure.

One summer² he was living there in obscurity, and had only a meagre stock of ground tragacanth (کتیره سوده) with him for eating. When it finished he began to starve. He thought it was meanness of spirit to beg for alms. He was reduced to the narrowest straits. One day he got up and, passing through the bazar, went to the riverside. Neither ablutions, nor sprinkling water on the head, nor drinking it could remove the pangs of hunger. He, therefore, decided to return to his residence to get ready for death which now appeared inevitable. He felt giddy when he reached the main gate of the city, and his legs staggered. He sat down but was afraid lest the people in the bazar should create a hell of noise on seeing him in that state.

Pretending to be thinking of purification after easing nature, he went under the shade of a building and placed his hands against its well-built wall to take rest. When he had regained his strength a bit, he began to find a lump of earth with his fingers from under the bricks. He thought he had found a gravel, but in reality his fingers had picked up a coin of the times of Akbar the Great. Bedil believed God the Merciful had kept the precious coin for his needs since ages. By that coin Bedil was saved from starvation to death and he thanked God in this quatrain:

صد شکر که احتیاج کوشش تعلیم آگام کرد آخر از فضل قدیم
مر چند بدیوار رجوع آوردم دستم نرسید جز بدامن کریم

[A hundred thanks, because necessity which urged me to try,
Ultimately informed me of the favours of eternal God.
Although I turned towards the wall,
My hand did not reach except the skirt of merciful God.]

By this exercise of self-mortification Bedil showed resignation to the will of God, and, like the great Sūfīs, displayed abhorrence³ for begging!

1. The following reference may be seen.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Şafīārī Edition, *Chahār ‘Unsur*, p. 119.

3. Abul Khair, Abū Sa‘id, in *Sudās in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 16. Here the great mystic says that when he was practicing self-mortification as a novice, he bound himself to eighteen things. One of them was abhorrence for begging.

On the main road from Akbarābād to Shāh Jahānābād, the city of Muthurā¹ lies on the right bank of the Jamna. During the days of Bedil, when journeys were made mainly by road, a person travelling between the two imperial cities, necessarily passed through Muthura. In the course of his aimless rambles, during the period under discussion, Bedil went to Muthura for the second time also. Again, no date has been assigned, but from the manner of his arrival in the city I conclude that the event belongs to this very period, i.e. 1078-79 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.).

Bedil says that one morning, when the sun had just risen, he started from Akbarpura, a village in the neighbourhood of Muthura. He saw a dazzling light in one direction, and he went thither. He beheld a few Sadhus sitting there. One of them cast such a lustrous and warm glance from his eyes that, for a protection against its heat which was burning his body, Bedil had to take shelter behind the tree trunks along the road. On account of this burning sensation, Bedil developed typhoid fever and consequently remained in Muthura for full three months. During the fever he used to sprinkle camphor on his body, but this brought him little relief.

In 1079 A.H.² (1668-69 A.D.) when Bedil had shown some tendency to settle down, he was married against his will. As he was intoxicated with Divine love, he could not think of sensual pleasures. But on the night of his nuptials he had a revelation which told him that, regardless of the issues, the marriage had to serve a purpose. He, therefore, agreed, and commemorated the occasion in this chronogram³:

بشکفت گل حدیقه بمن

After his marriage, Bedil began to lead a settled⁵ life in Dehli with his wife. Incidentally, he has stated⁶ that the house where he lived was very elegant and that he had a maid-servant also. After two months' stay in the house, it was found that it was haunted by evil spirits. It has been told previously that Bedil knew the charms for the extirpation of such spirits. He has again stated⁷ that his powers in this connection had become a marvel for all. The genii in the house were completely annihilated by Bedil, and during the next fifteen years when he again came twice to the house, the neighbours told him that the place had been immune from the evil spirits since his first stay there.

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, I, p. 389.

2. *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 110.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 66.

4. *Ibid.*, *Qūfā'ī*, 51.

5. *Ibid.*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 113.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-116.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 113.



Also quite involuntarily, Bedil displayed a miracle¹ (کرامت) in these days. A maid-servant was suffering from fever. One morning she was declared to be dead and her relations were weeping around her bed. Bedil went there. As a result of some sudden and mysterious impulse he drove a fist into her breast, and she stood up on her legs crying loudly. After this miracle people began to call him a saint, but he cared little for the airy titles:

بیدل به دو دوزخ عمر مغرور مباش بنیاد تو نیستی است معمور مباش
هر چند ابدال و قطب و غوث خوانند ای خاک باین غبار مسرور مباش

[Bedil, don't be proud of this life of short duration,
Your foundation lies on non-existence. Don't prosper.
The people may call you *Abdāl*,² *Qutb* and *Ghaus*,
O earth, don't be pleased with this flying dust.]

While describing this incident Bedil makes the following significant remarks:

از آن تاریخ تا امروز که می و پنج سال محسوب فرصت شمارست - آن خادمه
از مقیدان سلسله زندگست .

[From that day to this date that thirty-five years have elapsed,
that maid-servant is still alive.]

Bedil wrote this sentence before he had finished one-half of the fourth '*Unṣur*, and he completed³ his *Chahār 'Unṣur* in 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.). If the date of the composition of this line is taken to be 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), which seems probable, we can say that the miracle was displayed in 1080 A.H. (1115 - 35 = 1080), when Bedil was only twenty-six years old.

After his marriage Bedil joined the army like his forefathers. He was in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, son of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr. Khushgū says that by joining the army Bedil wanted to cultivate his latent powers and also to have some means of living. Bedil says that the object of his getting himself enlisted as a soldier was to find a way of escape from the ever-present feeling of self-gratification at his own asceticism and godliness. These moral values must have weighed with him but at the same time it is undeniable that, as Bedil had to run a home, he wanted a sure source of income, and he, therefore, joined the army.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, pp. 113-14.

2. These are the saints who form the invisible hierarchy. *Qutb* is the supreme head. Sayyid 'Alī Hujwī (d. 464-65 A.H.) has said that *Ghaus* and *Qutb* mean one and the same thing. *Abdāl* is, however, of a lower rank. For a fuller discussion see: 'Alī Hujwī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (trans. Nicholson), p. 214; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 123-24.

3. See *infra*. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 66; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

Besides being a master of Persian, Bedil was well versed in the Turkish language also, and these qualifications made him popular with Prince A'zam Shāh, who conversed¹ in both these languages. Quite easily Bedil got the Manṣab of 500, and was appointed as the Superintendent of the Prince's kitchen. Shād 'Azīmādādī, as well as the compiler² of *The Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, says³ that Bedil got this Manṣab in recognition of his poetical talents. But a knowledge of the character of Bedil, and of the manner in which he finally quitted the service of A'zam Shāh, makes it abundantly clear that Bedil could not offer his poetical talents for sale in the market. I have mentioned it above that in those days Bedil was leading a respectable life in Shāh Jahānābād. I think it was because of this Manṣab.

In the beginning of his service in the army, Bedil was very much perturbed⁴ by conflicting views about life. On the one side, there were mendicant darwishes, who cared not a fig for the worldly possessions, and, on the other, there were worldly people who hankered after riches. He very much liked to share the blissful life of the former noble souls. But it was revealed to him that if poverty (فقر) of this type was the object of life, then the whole of this grand and superb creation was useless. The fact is, it was disclosed to him, that *Faqr* was the Essence, and its attribute was *Chīna*. If a man, living in the midst of riches, could show indifference, he was indeed a *Faqlr*. This poverty, which was essentially of the spirit, required enormous mental striving, and anything got without striving did not become, according to Bedil, a high-minded person :

ماز همت بکسب دشواری کوشیدن است نه بر هوایی تن آسانی جوشیدن -

[Manliness means to grapple with difficulties, and not to long for a life of ease and inaction.]

Bedil was, therefore, of the opinion that means of livelihood should not be abandoned, when in particular no special pains were required to procure them. He concluded :

بی تردد جمع اسباب معاش خوشتر است از کسب فقری با تلاش

[If means of livelihood are obtained without much effort,
It is better than the vocation of *Faqr* with much ado.]

One day⁵ in Dehlī while Bedil was in service, he was riding on a fine Arab horse through a bazar. Suddenly he saw that some people

1. *Khushgū*, in *M'a'arif*, May 1942, p. 36.

2. *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Bankipur Library*, Ms. No. 381.

3. Shād 'Azīmādādī, *Nawā-e-Wajār*, p. 69. *The Oriental College Magazine* for August 1932.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 67.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

were looking at him. He went ahead and there too a few persons were looking at him in surprise. One of them cried out, "Look! How is the madman running after the horse, and how does he dance when he approaches it?" Bedil turned his head and saw Shāh-e-Kābuli running after him. Immediately he climbed down the horse, and, with reins in hand, respectfully made his way towards the saint. Shāh-e-Kābuli reached first and lovingly embraced Bedil. At the instance of Shāh Sāhib, they repaired to a vacant shop where they sat sharing the secrets of each other. On that occasion Bedil said that he had been married, adding that according to a revelation he would get no issues. Shāh-e-Kābuli said, "It would be as you have understood. We are singles (ما افراد هستیم)." In support of this assertion he recited the following Qurānic verse¹:

وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

Many and varied were the secrets revealed to Bedil on that occasion. He was surprised at their nature and extent. The infinite possibilities of the individuals (افراد) almost bewildered him. He was in this state of bewilderment (حیرت) for a very long time, and when he came to himself he found that Shāh-e-Kābuli had again flitted. It was Bedil's third and last meeting with Shāh-e-Kābuli. The second had taken place in 1078 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) and the third had now come two years later, that is in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.). The overpowering effects of this last meeting were felt by Bedil even twenty years afterwards.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of the افراد. As Bedil has been ranked amongst this class of mystics, it is in the fitness of things that the peculiarities² and privileges of the افراد should be given in brief. Theirs is the highest rank in the hierarchy of saints, so much so that the Prophet (peace be on him) himself, the mystics say, had this rank before the Revelation. A Quṭb receives the illumination of Attributes (تجلی 'صفات') while the *Afrād* are recipients of the Illumination of Essence. (تجلی 'ذات'). This shows the fundamental difference between a قطب and a فرد. These saints, who are unique (فرد) in their spirituality, are manifestations of the spirit of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet (peace be on him). The *Afrād* conceal their secret, and are absolutely resigned to the Will of God, and hence they do not show miracles. When they attain perfection and advance in their spirituality they become the Poles of Reality and Unity (قطب حقیقت و وحدت).

1. The Holy Qurān, CXII. 4.

2. Thānavī, Muhammad 'Alī, *Istīlāhātul Funūn*, II, 1107 and 1167-69; 'Abdur Razzāq, *Istīlāhātul-Sūfiyah*, p. 9.

We know that physically Bedil was a giant. One day when Prince A'zam Shāh was riding on horseback, and his usual retinue followed him along with Bedil, suddenly a tiger appeared, jumped upon the suite, and killed many of the Prince's retinue. Bedil alone had the courage to attack the tiger and did away with it as if it were a goat.¹

Bedil wrote his allegorical Masnavi *Tilism-e-Hairat* in 1080 A.H., and as he joined the army after his marriage in 1079 A.H., we conclude that he wrote this Masnavi when he was in the service of A'zam Shāh. The book was dedicated to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and this shows that relations between the poet and the courtier were growing more and more intimate. Moreover, the poet did not dedicate his *Tilism-e-Hairat* to A'zam Shāh. This also indicates that Bedil was not inclined to make a display of his poetical genius before the Prince.

When Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh, he was seeking guidance² in his poetical compositions from Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat³ son of Mullā 'Abdur Rashīd of Akbarābād. He was a very learned man both in the revealed sciences and philosophy. He was considered matchless in the epistolary style and in writing poetry. He was also skilful in the arts of soldiery. The Emperor wanted to raise him to the Manṣab of Sa'dullah Khān 'Allāmī, the illustrious Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān. 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat was presented to Aurangzeb in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), when the latter was in Akbarābād. The Emperor was impressed by the grand personality and the unique qualities of the Maulānā, and in a few days promoted him to the Manṣab of 500 Zat and 100 Sawar. In the *Ruq'at* of Bedil, we find four letters⁴ addressed to Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat. They are all full of love and respect.

There were several poets in the service⁵ of Prince A'zam Shāh who was himself a critic of poetry and patron of poets. The names of these poets are: Husain Shuhrat, Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsan, Ijād Salīm, Sa'dullah Gulshan, and Khwāja 'Abdullah Sāqī. The *Takhalluṣ* of Ijād and Gulshan were suggested by Bedil. Ijād was also a pupil of Bedil. Khushgū says that all these poets associated themselves with and were friends of Bedil. This very biographer relates that on the day when Gulshan got his poetical name from

1. 'Alī Luṭf Mīrzā, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 63.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 361.

3. Sāqī, *Ma'ārif-e-'Ālamgirī*, pp. 98-99; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 78.

4. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 60, 70, 79, 91.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 40. For the additional knowledge about the poets, Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, pp. 8, 47, 96. Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 198, 200.

Bedil, Khushgū himself and Mir 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Sakhun also were granted their Takhalluṣ by Bedil. It is, therefore, certain that when Bedil was employed as a soldier, he had already gathered around himself a number of poets who admired him and who looked to him for guidance.

One day in the presence of the Prince a talk was going on about the contemporary poets. A favourite of the Prince remarked that not only in Shāh Jahānābād, but also in most of the other cities of India, no poet was a match for 'Abdul Qādir Bedil who was in the service of the Prince. A'zam Shāh then said that the poet should be asked to write a panegyric, and if it showed some inherent worth, not only Bedil's Manṣab would be raised, but also he would automatically rise in the Prince's estimation.

In the collection of Bedil's Qaṣā'id, there is a forceful Qaṣida in praise of Prince A'zam Shāh. It has two parts, in the same metre, but with different rhyme, and from there we learn that Bedil too, like other poets, expected favours from the Prince. The poet presents his case most eloquently:

صورت احوالم از طرز تخلص روشن است
بیدلیها چیده ام برخورد زوضع روزگار

مرشود ابر عنایت آبیاری مزرعم
خوشه سال از پائی تا سر جمله دل آرم بیار

[My condition makes itself evident through my *nom de plume*,
I have developed heartlessness on account of the ways of the
world.

If the cloud of your munificence showers water over my
field,

Like the ear of corn I shall grow hearts from head to feet.]

Whether this Qaṣida was actually presented to the Prince or not, is unknown. But, it appears, it was written as a result of an inner urge, in appreciation of the valuable qualities of the Prince. When, however, it was conveyed to Bedil that he was expected to sing the praises of the Prince like professional panegyric-writers, he went immediately to the Paymaster and tendered his resignation. His friends insisted that he should write the required encomium, but he was not prepared to prostitute his talents, and he, therefore, abandoned his Manṣab.

Khushgū has remarked¹ that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh for a long period of twenty years. We have seen that

1. Sher Khān Lodhi, Mir'ātul Khayāl, pp. 386-87; Itikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, Tazkirah-e-Benzār, p. 16; Azād Bilgrāmī, Khazāna-i-Āmirah, p. 152.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qill'āt, pp. 40-41.

3. Khushgū, in Mā'ārif, May 1942, p. 361.

here and there in his works, such as *Chahār 'Unṣur*, *Qitt'āt*, and *Ruqq'āt*, Bedil makes hints about his life. I have, however, come across no hint which might suggest that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh for such a long period. Moreover, Bedil's life was eventful. After persistent efforts I have been able to collect only a few events connected with Bedil's life as a soldier. This shows that the period of his military service was very brief. Besides, A'zam Shāh was in the Deccan¹ for the major part of his life, and none has ever expressed the view that Bedil too was in the Deccan at any time of his life. We know Bedil married in 1079 A.H. (1663-69 A.D.) and he joined the army after this. If he had been in the military service for twenty years, he could resign not earlier than 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). In that case he would not have been able to move about freely so frequently as we shall see in the following pages, before the close of the eleventh century of Hijra. Finally, Sher Khān Lodhī makes a positive statement to the effect that Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh only for a few days.² I must reiterate that the biographical note about Bedil written by Sher Khān Lodhī was seen³ by the poet himself. The statement made by the biographer, therefore, is perfectly reliable. In view of all this, I am of the opinion that Bedil was in the army for a very brief period.

Bedil had tendered his resignation so dramatically that a thorn kept rankling in the heart of A'zam Shāh for a long time. At one time he asked⁴ one Mir 'Atiqullah to go to Bedil and to bring his writings. As a consequence, Bedil supplied a piece of his prose and, on learning that it had been appreciated by the Prince, Bedil thanked him at the solicitation of the above-mentioned Mir. On another occasion, A'zam Shāh sent the following letter,⁵ under his own signatures, asking Bedil to enter his service again :

الحمد لله والمنة كده هنوز قوای بدنی¹ آن رفعت و شجاعت دستگه بحال خود
است و باوجود برقراری سواس از خدمت عالی شاهی تقاعد و رزیدن شرط ایفائی
حقوق اخلاص نیست - تا حال هم هیچ لریخته - آنچه ضروریات را در کار باشد
به بیونات دارا بخلافه امر نفاذ یافته - سرانجام کرده خواهد داد - زود مستعد
ملازمت گردد -

[Praise be to God and thanks are due to Him, because the physical strength of that honourable and brave person is still as good as ever. But to evade Imperial Service, in spite of having senses in a perfect working order, is against the faithful discharge of sincere obligations. Still the matter

1. Sāqī, *Ma'āzīr-e-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 216, 535. The Prince went to the Deccan in 1092 A.H., and was there till 1113 A.H.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 367.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

4. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 93.

5. *Khushū*, in *Ma'āzif*, May 1942, p. 361.

is not past remedy. Whatever is needed would be supplied on order from the provisions in the capital. He should immediately get ready to resume service.]

Khushgū says that he saw this imperial communication, in original, with his own eyes, in the inkstand of Bedil. As A'zam Shāh had seen Bedil kill a tiger, he is in particular mindful of Bedil's bravery, and promises to show him favours. He also recognises Bedil's high-mindedness. It is clear that an elevated Manṣab was waiting for Bedil, but again he declined to accept it and wrote in reply² :

طاقتہائی جوانی کہ وسیلہٴ آبروئی بزرگیت بضعف پیری انجامید و استقامت
توئی کہ دلیل سعادت خدمت گزاریست سرنجیب از پا در افتاد کی کشید -

[The youthful energies, which enable a man to discharge his duties with credit, have changed into disability of old age, and the efficacy of powers, which gives strength for joining service, is no more.]

I think, to satisfy the vanity of the Prince, Bedil sent with his letter an artistic ghazal eulogising him. Following is the opening verse of the ghazal³ :

اگر خورشید گردونم و گر خاک سر راہم گدائی حضرت شاہم حضرت شاہ

[If I am a sun in the heaven or I am like dust by the roadside,

I am a beggar at the Prince's door, a beggar at the Prince's door.]

As far as I know, this closed the chapter of Bedil's relations with A'zam Shāh.

After this we see our poet again in Akbarābād⁴—the city on the Jamna founded by Akbar the Great. It owes its fame to the Tāj Mahal which was completed⁵ in 1053 A.H., a year before the birth of Bedil. Although no reference is found in his works, yet one can say with certainty that he must have seen this "dream in the marble" when he was in Akbarābād, and the purity and chastity of the Tāj must have exercised influence in the development of his aesthetic taste. He calls this city by the name of گل زمین⁶ (The Valley of Roses) and this is an

1. Page 46, supra.

2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 18.

3. Khushgū, in *Mu'arif*, May 1942, p. 361; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qitt'āt*, p. 54.

4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, pp. 393,

45-46.

5. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, I, p. 599.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār Unsur*, p. 133.

indication of the fact that he was deeply impressed by its supreme beauty.

One silvery bright night in 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) in Akbarābād, Bedil had a grand dream.¹ At first he found himself in the Realm of Unity (جهان احدیت), and then he descended to the Empyrean Heaven where he saw the angels. After this he observed the Intelligence,² and the Heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon. When he had beheld these seven heavens, he saw the truths of the spheres of earth, water, air, and fire, and at the end the realities of the four stages of existence, i.e. the mineral, the vegetable, the animal, and the human, visibly came before his eyes. He saw the similitudes of these things.

In the course of this vision, Bedil saw a person, sitting towards the pillow, and having Bedil's head on his knees. When Bedil looked closely he recognised the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). Bedil fought shy, but his head was still in the loving lap of the Prophet. He was overjoyed. After a while he observed another glorious world on that curtain of the similitudes. In a splendid palace he saw 'Alī, the sovereign of saints, reclining against a pillow on the carpet of Majesty. Bedil respectfully bowed and began to tremble with fear. But His Exalted Holiness graciously asked Bedil to come nearer, and then he attained the stage of Oneness, and was honoured with favours compared to which everything in the universe pales into insignificance. Bedil was encouraged and he therefore related how he had seen the Prophet in the dream. The Prince of the saints, i.e. 'Alī, interpreted the dream and told Bedil that the Reality of Muḥammad (حقیقت محمدیه) was always guarding him, whether he observed the necessary ritual or not. On hearing this interpretation, Bedil felt infinite pleasure and he woke up.

We see it was, in fact, a splendid dream. Dreams of this kind are commonly seen by the mystics, and a perusal of the books³ on mysticism will show that there was nothing extraordinary in this dream. This only shows that Bedil belonged to the community of saints, and, as a unique saint (فرد), his spiritual relations with 'Alī,⁴ the son-in-law of the Prophet, were very intimate. Moreover, reference to

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 134-35.

2. It refers to a theory of creation, according to which God created the First Intelligence (عقل اول) and from it the Other Intelligences, all the Heavens, and everything else came into being.

3. 'Aṭṭār, Farīdu-ud-Dīn, *Taḏkirat-ul Auliya*, pp. 80, 100, 112, etc.; Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, pp. 63-65; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 122-23.

In the last book, 'Abdul Karīm Jili's remarks indicate that the saints are capable of seeing the Heavens.

4. Page 45, *supra*.

the Intelligences and Heavens in the dream, indicates Bedil's knowledge of Muslim philosophy.

In Akbarābād, Kāmgār Khān,¹ son of Ja'far Khān,² Jumdatul Mulk, was always eager to render service to the Faqirs and Darwishes and he treated Bedil also with the same considerateness, because he thought Bedil too belonged to the same order. Although he does not say it explicitly, yet there are implicit references to the effect that Bedil lived in Akbarābād for a considerable period, and it looked as if he had settled there. He says he was leading there a contented and comfortable life. It was this mode of life which induced Khushgū to write³ in his *Safina* that Bedil belonged to Akbarābād.

In one meeting,⁴ in Akbarābād, a few poets had gathered, and they began to talk about the poets of the past. They themselves were not well versed in poesy, still they spoke slightly about the master-poets like Khāqānī and Amīr Khusrāu. Bedil could not bear disparaging remarks about the Great Poets, although he himself had no claim for being a poet.

It so happened that one day all of them went for a walk in the Zohra Garden⁵ in the company of Amīr Kāmgār Khān. The walls, the pleasure-houses, and the other scenery in the garden so fascinated the Amīr that he asked all the poets if someone would describe the beautiful scenes in verse or prose. Those bragging poets remained deaf and dumb, but Bedil immediately described the garden in prose, in figurative language, and aptly named it *سرمه اعتبار* (the collyrium of honour). This essay was later on included in the prose section of *Chahār 'Unsur*.

Fortunately, Bedil gives dates of the composition of many of his productions, and from this we can understand how his literary genius

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 94; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'atul Khayāl*, p. 396; Sāqī, *Ma'asir-e-'Ālamgiri*, p. 103. During these days Aurangzeb was in Akbarābād where Ja'far Khān Jumdatul-Mulk died after a protracted illness. Kāmgār Khān, his brother Nāmdār Khān, and the other members of the bereaved family felt very much elated when the Emperor personally went to their house for condolence. Aurangzeb was there from 1080 A.H. to 1082 A.H. See *Ma'asir-e-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 91, 112. This is sufficient to show the standing of the family of Mīrā Kāmgār.

In the *Ruq'at of Bedil* (Lucknow Edition) at page 70, there is a letter in which Bedil regretfully says that he could not receive Mīrā Kāmgār as there was no saddle for his horse. At page 51 of the *Qitt'at* (*Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*) Bedil has mentioned a victory of the Amīr. The chronogram is *نوبت غیب* = 1082 A.H.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 338.

4. *Kulliyāt e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 94-95.

5. Latif, Sayyid Muḥammad, *Agra*, p. 190. It is thought that this was a garden of Bābur's daughter.

gradually unfolded itself. He wrote his *Qaṣīda Sawād-e-A'zam*¹ in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.). This name itself, like that of *Muhīt-e-A'zam*, is the chronogram. The *Qaṣīda* is addressed to Man and is didactic in content. Most of the verses of the *Qaṣīda* have the figure تشبیه (aptness of illustration) in which a truth is stated in the first hemistich and in the second a concrete example is given. This predominant use of the figure proves that at this period of his life Bedil was paying more attention to it.

Khushgū has recorded an event which shows that the poets in Akbarābād had grown jealous of Bedil. He shaved his beard as well as his eyebrows. One day a poet named 'Abdur Rahīm threw the following² couplet into the palanquin in which Bedil was being carried :

چه خطا در خط استاد ازل دید آیا که به اصلاح خط و ریش به ناز افتاد است

[What defect did you observe in the downs made by the
Eternal Master

That you have proudly begun to correct the downs and the
beard ?]

Bedil replied immediately :

مختصر کن به تفاؤل هوس جنگ و جدل بد سر رشته تحقیق دراز افتاد است

[Cut short by negligence your desire to continue this strife

The extent of the thread of research is wide.]

Bedil was otherwise perfectly satisfied with his life in Akbarābād but there was one thing which distressed him much. He very much longed³ to be in the society of *Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāhī* whom he had left in Orissa. Letters and messages were being regularly exchanged but he was not satisfied with them. He ardently desired to see the saint himself.

One night in 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), Bedil was very much perturbed, and was awake till late in the night. At last, when he fell asleep he dreamt that he was in the company of *Shāh-e-Qāsim*. Bedil had a cup of water in his hands. Instead of taking it to his own lips, he offered it to *Shāh Ṣāhib*. The saint had not yet taken even a drop when the dream melted away.

Next night Bedil saw the saint again in dream. The saint had a cup in his hand and a flask of wine under his arms, which he handed over to Bedil. Now Bedil thought *Shāh Ṣāhib* was not at all intemperate; it must be some secret. He therefore filled the cup and offered it to the saint who said :

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'at*, pp. 34-36.
2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 365.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unqur*, pp. 71-72.

ما دور پیمانہ خود دیشب بانجام رسانیدیم - این قدر قسمت تو بود کہ بہ
تو عائد گردانیدیم بعد ازین سر خوش قدح پیمائی شوق می باش و دماغ اندیشہ
ببخمار هائی کدورت بخراش -

[We finished last night the round of our cup. It was your share which has been made over to you. After this be merry from the effects of drinking to your desire, and never put yourself to trouble by vexing thoughts.]

As the saint had asked him, Bedil drank a few cups, and as a consequence he began to reel like an intoxicated person. For a long time after this dream he felt as if he was drunk.

Bedil concluded from these dreams that the saint had left this world for ever. On the third night he saw a crowd of angels in a dream. They asked him to tell some chronogram about the death of *Shāh-e-Qāsim* and he said *impromptu* :

ز بی تعینتی ذات رفت نام صفت

The celestial beings grew ecstatic on hearing this chronogram. After six months a few friends of Bedil came from Orissa and they confirmed the news.

This is the last event which we know about the life of Bedil in Akbarābād. We get two dates, i.e. 1081 A.H. and 1083 A.H., from the events that took place in this imperial city. Nowhere has it been mentioned by any person that Bedil was at any other place during these dates. Consequently I am of the opinion that he was in Akbarābād from 1082 A.H. to 1083 A.H. (1671-73 A.D.).

From Akbarābād Bedil went to Dehli. But there he was living very dispiritedly, when suddenly he made up his mind to enjoy a visit to the Punjab. His spirits were revived and he composed the following¹ chronogram in a cheerful mood :

شوق را از عزیمت لاهور	تازگیهای مزده شادبست
یعنی از دامگه انسردن	چند گاهم نوید آزادبست
سال تاریخ این عزیمت شوق	بی تکلف شو-خدا هادبست

[I am starting for Lahore and I feel

As fresh as on hearing a good news.

It means from the net of melancholy

I get glad tidings of being liberated for some time.

The chronogram for this pleasure trip

Comes quite unaffectedly. Listen : 'God is the guide.']

In *Chakar 'Unsur*, too, he speaks of the pleasure² which he felt on the eve of his departure for the Punjab.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'āt*, p. 51.

2. *Ibid.*, *Chakar 'Unsur*, pp. 108-09.

He was alone. Moreover, he was travelling light. He had only a very blunt knife with him. On many occasions he had thought of taking the knife to some blacksmith, but now when he reached Sarac-Nakodar, an inn in Nakodar,¹ Jullundhur District, he saw a few smithies and went thither. He asked the blacksmiths to sharpen his knife. All of them displayed willingness, but their elder readily came forward and respectfully took the knife from Bedil. In an instant, the knife was sharpened brilliantly. Bedil thought of paying for the labour, but the elderly blacksmith accepted no payment as, he said, he was there to serve the Faqirs—the holy people moving about like mendicants. The blacksmith smiled graciously and talked so compassionately that Bedil was very much impressed by his good manners. The bright lustre of his eyes was particularly wonderful.

Nothing is known about Bedil's stay in Lahore at that time, but we know he went to Hasanabdāl. It is a town² in Attock District twenty-five miles east of Campbellpur, and has been held equally sacred by the Buddhists, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It is an attractive³ place, famous for its springs, and mulberry and pipal trees of large size. The Mughul Emperors used to halt⁴ here, when they were on their way to Kābul or Kashmīr. Moreover, as the place is almost on the border of the Frontier Province, the Mughul Emperors, having encamped in the town, could easily supervise the action in the Frontier. When in 1085 A.H. (1674-75 A.D.) Bedil had gone towards that side, Aurangzeb also had reached⁵ Hasanabdāl to subdue the turbulent Khushbāl Khān Khatak—an inspiring poet and a valiant swordsman.

In the course of his journey to Hasanabdāl, Bedil had with him a learned Brahman as a fellow-traveller, who was deeply influenced by Bedil's magnanimity.⁶ One day the Brahman showed his surprise by saying that the Prophet of Islam had foretold that the Day of Judgment would come in the twinkling⁷ of an eye, but it had not come since his time, although the people go on twinkling the eyes a thousand times every day. According to Hindu philosophy, the Brahman continued, the annihilation of the Universe would take place after the Greatest Cycle of Time which closed after millions of

1. *Punjab District Gazetteers XIV-A Jullunder District*, pp. 291-96.

2. *Ibid.*, XXIX-A, *Attock District*, pp. 319-21.

3. Murravy, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in India*, p. 212.

4. Jahangir, *Memoirs* (Trans. Rogers), Vol. I. pp. 99-100 ; II, pp. 123-231.

5. Sāqī, *Maānir-e-Ālamgiri*, p. 132.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chaḥār Unṣur*, pp. 17-19.

7. *The Holy Qurān*, XIV. 77:

وما امر الساعة إلا كمنح البصر أو هو أقرب

[And the matter of the Hour (of Doom) is but as a twinkling of the eye or it is nearer still.]

years. The Brahman meant to say that Hindu conception of Time was nearer the reality. Bedil replied that the Hindus believed¹ ages piled on ages in the life of Brahma (The Creator of the Universe, and at whose end the Universe ended) were only a negligibly brief moment in the life of Viṣṇu. This Viṣṇu, Bedil went on, corresponded to Necessary Existence (ذات واجب الوجود) in Muslim philosophy, and it was, therefore, clear that, as compared to the Necessary Existence, which transcended time, the contingent (ممکن الوجود), with all its huge piles of ages, was absolutely an insignificant entity. Bedil told the Brahman that such like deep truths were simply appalling to the imagination of puny man, and, therefore, metaphors like the twinkling of an eye were used:

چه دانی رمز دریا چون نداری گوش گردابی
که کار خار و خس بنود زبان موج فهمیدن

[How can you understand the secrets of a sea when you do not have the ears of a whirlpool,
Because it is not the business of thorns and straw to understand a wave's tongue.]

When the Brahman was reminded of Viṣṇu, and informed of the nature of واجب and ممکن, he was worsted in argument, and he, therefore, embraced Islam.

Bedil removed the doubts of the Brahman very easily. This shows that Bedil had made comparative study of the Hindu and Muslim systems of philosophy. Khushgū² says that Bedil was interested in Theology, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences and he had also committed to memory the whole story of Mahābhārtha—a book of unequalled fame amongst the Hindus. Bedil had developed this taste for Hindu philosophy and traditions since the days when his teacher Shāh-e-Mulūk composed couplets having Vedānta terminology. We know that 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, who was a patron of Bedil, had written in verse the *Qisṣa-e-Padmawāt* and *Mashmālāt*. This shows that the learned Muslims of those days were not ashamed of taking interest in Hindu learning.

When did Bedil return from the Punjab? Or, where did he stay after his return?—are questions which I have not been able to answer definitely. Bedil, however, has stated in *Chahār 'Unsur*

1. Premchand Bhārati, *Sri Krishna*, pp. 46-48, 62, 194; Barnett, L. D., *Brahma Knowledge*, pp. 49-50.

According to the Hindu Theory of Creation, Brahma is born out of the navel of Viṣṇu. Brahma then creates the universe which ends after many cycles each of which consists of 4,320,000 ordinary years. After Maha-Pralaya, i.e. Universal Dissolution, there is again creation. This periodical course of alternate creation, maintenance, and dissolution of worlds continues without end.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 370.

that once he stayed in Muthura continuously for three years. If his previous and future history is kept in view, one arrives at the conclusion that at no period other than this could Bedil stay in Muthura continuously for such a long time. I am, therefore, inclined to the view that Bedil was there from 1087 A.H. to 1089 A.H. (1676-78 A.D.).

Bedil says that he lived there on account of the fondness he had for the city. He was greatly impressed by the veneration in which the Hindus hold Krishna—the Lord of Love. Krishna had passed his life in the western part of Muthura District which is called Braj Mandal,¹ or the country of Krishna, and where almost every grove, mound and tank is associated with some episode in Krishna's life. Bedil saw there bands of pilgrims of all sorts, visiting the shrines most reverently, and he was surprised to see the depth of their feelings. Even after the lapse of centuries, he could hear, in those surroundings, the flute played by Krishna and could see the enraptured maidens (*Gopīs*). He says²:

در زمینی که محبت اثری کاشته است
گرد او خرمن چندین طپش انباشته است

[In a field, where love has sown its effect

There even the dust has collected a crop of palpitation.]

From the vivid account given by Bedil we learn that, in spite of the efforts made by different Muslim rulers to eliminate idolatry, Muthura had even then the exclusive stamp of Hindu religion and its traditions.

One day,³ in Muthura, the Governor of the fort complained to Bedil that life in the fort had become miserable, as the evil spirits flung stones, and the people being afraid were daily leaving the place. Bedil wrote the following couplet in Persian to serve as an amulet:

با عفاریت جهانی دیگر جای کم نیست مکانی دیگر

[There is another world for the genii ;

Accommodation is not limited. There is another house.]

In this way the spirits left the place.

In 1089 A.H. (1673 A.D.), when Bedil was perhaps in Muthura, his teacher, 'Abdul 'Aziz, 'Izzat breathed his last at the age of forty-eight. Bedil mourned⁴ his loss in two stanzas, and composed two chrono-

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 374

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 59-60.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, *Qill'at*, pp. 47, 50-51.

grams, viz. *چهل و هشت ساله مرد و بردند نور از چراغ عالم* and to record the date of the demise of his beloved teacher. It is a characteristic feature of the elegies written by Bedil that therein the traits of the dying person are invariably recounted. Here, in these two stanzas, we learn about the religiosity, liberality and nobility of mind, erudition and the literary attainments of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat. In 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.), when near the mausoleum of the Shaikh, a Maktab called *زاویه عزیزیه* was opened, Bedil preserved its memory by the chronogram *مقام فضل*.

We see Bedil in Dehli again. This time when he was in Dehli, he posed before a famous painter, named Anūp Chitrā for a portrait.² The painter was a favourite³ of Dārā Shikoh, and one of his chief works depicts Shāh Jahān seated among his Amirs. Anūp Chitrā's portraits have a sureness of touch, a keenness of expression, and a psychological intensity. Bedil praises him for his realism and regards him equal to the great Bihzād⁴ and to Mānī.⁵ The critical remarks of Bedil, about the paintings of Anūp Chitrā, are a proof of the fact that the poet was a very well-informed connoisseur. At first Bedil was disinclined to have his portrait drawn, but, being overcome by the entreaties of Anūp Chitrā, who was an old friend, he agreed at last, and when, with a few touches of the brush, the portrait was drawn, it was so lifelike that Bedil could not distinguish it from his own self. The portrait remained with him for ten years till he destroyed it in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). It means that it was painted in 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) when Bedil was thirty-six years old.

Bedil had all the time been looking for a proper recognition of his talents, but his hopes were still unrealised. He was not after the fulfilment of worldly ends, as it was customary with other poets of his times, but, on the other hand, he was in search of persons who had intellectual as well as spiritual affinity with him. We have seen that his respect for 'Āqil Khān Rāzī had its origin in this similarity of mind and heart. But it appears, too exalted as 'Āqil Rāzī was, Bedil could not develop the desired intimacy with him.

By this time Bedil had come to know that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the son-in-law of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, was the proper man to

1. *Kulliyāt-Bedil, Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, *Chāshī: 'Unsur*, pp. 110-11.

3. Grosset, R., *The Civilisation of the East India* (Trans. Phillips), p. 338.)

4. *Ibid.*, p. 36. Bihzād was the most illustrious master of the school of Herāt during the times of the Tīmūrid Sulṭān Hussain Baiqara.

5. Mānī was not a painter but the founder of a religion. See Browne, E G., *A Literary History of Persia*, I, 138, 165-56.

Iqbāl, Dr. Muhammad, *Irān ba 'Ahd-e-Sāsāniyān* (Urdu translation of *L' Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 233-60.)

be approached in this connection. The Nawāb was a poet¹ and he had also written a commentary of the *Masnavi of Rūmī*. He was not only versed in the canonical law but also he was a mystic. His devotion to truth was well known. Moreover, his regard for poets and learned men had earned a name for him. Shaikh Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, the well-known Persian poet, and Sher Khān Lodhī, the famous writer of the *Tazkirah Mir'ātul Khayāl*, were recipients of his favours. It is probable that when he was the Governor of Sirhind, Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī attracted his notice, and from that time close familiarity began between them. Sher Khān Lodhī gives the letters which passed between the peer and the poet.

Bedil, therefore, naturally decided to write² to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. He had not yet seen the Nawāb, but he was confident the Nawāb would not disappoint him. He sent his *Masnavi Tilism-e-Hairat*, with a letter, in which he severely criticised the people who either attended merely to the felicity of expression or displayed solicitude only for the ideas. Bedil, however, stood for a happy fusion of both, the thought and the expression, and he believed that a clear-minded person like Nawāb Shukrullah Khān would study the *Masnavi* from this point of view and would appreciate it. *Tilism-e-Hairat*, too, had not had a good reception, and, therefore, when he was sending it to a real patron of art and learning, he was very much delighted. He concluded by saying :

شاد باش ای دل کہ آخر عقدہ ات وای شود

قطرہ ما می رسد جائیکہ دریا می شود

[O heart, be pleased, your knot is being opened after long last.

Our drop would reach a place where it would turn into an ocean.]

Bedil's expectations were fulfilled, and we find him staying with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān in Dehli as a guest. The Nawāb was transferred³ from Sirhind in 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.) and was appointed the Faujdār of Shāh Jahānābād where he remained⁴ till 1904 A.H. (1692-83 A.D.) A separate room was reserved for Bedil and meals were regularly served. In addition to this there were uninterrupted meetings with Shukrullah Khān, which Bedil regarded as the fruit of his life. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān had given headings to the different sections

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 292-94; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41; Hussainī, Hussain Dost, *Tazkirah*, p. 75.

2. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

3. Sāqī, *Me'āsir-e 'Ālamgiri*, pp. 209, 214.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

of *Tilism-e-Hairat*, and also he had prepared a gist of its contents. In a letter¹ to 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, Bedil praised Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for his hospitality and good manners.

It appears that when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was transferred² in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.) to Sikandarābād, Bedil moved to Muthura. The period since the date of the composition of *Tilism-e-Hairat* is marked comparatively by sterility, but this time when Bedil was in Muthura, he embarked upon the composition of his famous work *Chahār 'Unsur* in prose.

Now, after the war of succession (1068-69 A.H. 1657-58 A.D.), the life of Bedil was again directly influenced by the political events of his times. Aurangzeb quitted³ his capital in 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.) and went to Ajmer to quell the Rājput risings, and from there he had proceeded⁴ to the Deccan, via Burhānpūr in 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.). This was his fateful departure from the capital. Exaggerated news of the persistent defiance of Mughul authority by the Marhattas and of their vigorous raids were daily reaching Northern India, and, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions, the truculent Jāts had begun to commit depredations⁵ near Islāmābād (Muthura) and Akbarābād. As Bedil was living at that time in the former city, he naturally suffered. He gives a sensational account of the prevalent conditions :

"The Emperor 'Ālamgīr⁶ had left for the Deccan and Hindustān was in a state of helplessness. The Governors were lazy and negligent of their duties. Consequently, the population surrounding Delhī and Akbarābād grew rebellious and, with designs for independence and self-aggrandisement, created havoc. The population of most of the parganas, neighbouring Muthura, had embarked on a career of lawlessness, loot and murder. The noblemen were imprisoned and humiliated and none heeded their implorations. Every day a new Governor was appointed from the Deccan, but he made inordinate delay in reaching Hindustān and taking over. Rebels swarmed about and could by no means be checked. The lawless mob made no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked. It was impossible to stay at home; and the bazars, the streets and the lanes too were unsafe. Undertaking journeys meant courting danger, and the caravans of traders had stopped where they were. The military itself was exposed to danger. In Muthura the rich people guarded

1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.

2. *Sāqī, Maāsir-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 233.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 311. *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II pp. 394-95.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 128.

the pathways to their palaces by guns and arrows, but the poor were absolutely helpless."

This graphic expression we get from Bedil's pen. At last¹ when, owing to the constant sufferings of full two years, endurance and patience had worn away, and it had become extremely painful to pass each day and each night, Bedil decided in 1095 A.H. (1685 A.D.) to reach Dchli somehow or other. People tried to dissuade him, pointing out the dangers in the way, but he was firm in his resolve.

A few bullock carts were hired and the journey was started. The first stop was 'Azīmābād in the vicinity of Muthura. About fifty carts were already waiting there for an escort. Next day when Bedil's carts resumed their journey, those fifty carts also moved. They were, however, soon persuaded by the inhabitants of the village to stop, but Bedil went on with two servants. When Bedil's party had gone ahead only for a few yards, a *darwish* came with a parrot, and he predicted that victory accompanied them, hence there was no need to be afraid. On hearing this the people of the other carts too were encouraged, and they joined Bedil's party.

In spite of the intense heat, none ventured to stop on the way, nor did anyone go to the wells to quench thirst. When they had travelled some two or three kos in this way, they came to a marshy ground, which it was difficult to cross. There a cart of Bedil was broken and the luggage was loaded on the wounded bullock, but it gave way under the load. Such accidents were commonly an invitation for the ruffians to indulge in plunder and, therefore, getting afraid, the accompanying carts made good their escape hastily, leaving Bedil and his party in the lurch.

Bedil asked his men to abandon the load and the bullock and to proceed on. After some time the wounded bullock also arrived with its load. The people of the surrounding 'ilāqa used to gather by the roadside, perhaps with evil intentions. They were surprised to see the tiny caravan travelling without an escort. One night was passed by the bank of the Jumna, and all the party kept vigil. Some drivers were in league with the robbers, and they took the party to a dangerous village. But suddenly a man on horseback appeared, and angrily asked the drivers why they behaved faithlessly even with godly persons. The rider guided the party to the caravan and then disappeared.

In this way Bedil arrived safely in *Shāh Jahānābād*. From the luggage and the servants that accompanied him, it appears that Bedil had settled permanently in Muthura, and that he shifted to the Imperial Capital only on account of the disturbances.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, pp. 128-32.

CHAPTER III

Final Stay in Dehli

[27th Jamāda II, 1096 A.H., to 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H.

31st May, 1685 A.D., to 5th December, 1720 A.D.]

BEDIL arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on the 27th of Jamāda II, 1096 A.H. (May 31st, 1685). On his arrival in the metropolis, the first thing he did was to see 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, who was the Governor¹ there since 1091 A.H. (1680-81 A.D.). Appointment for weekly visits was made with the Khān. Procuring a well-located house was Bedil's next concern. He, therefore, wrote to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for the same. Bedil wrote that he had left Islāmābād (Muthura) on account of the disturbances and had arrived in the capital with his women (با لشکسته چنده). He added that the daily food had been fixed for all by God, he wanted a comfortable house by the riverside or in the outskirts of the city—a house which should remain permanently in his possession, so that, for the rest of his life, he may be freed from the trouble of changing it.²

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his son Shākir Khān bought the Havelī (bungalow) of one Luṭf 'Alī for Rs. 5,000 and presented it to Bedil. It was situated outside the Dehlī Gate, in the quarter of Khikriān, by the Guzar Ghat. It is apparent that both the conditions laid down by Bedil had been fulfilled. The Nawābs fixed two rupees as the daily allowance of Bedil, which was paid till the last day³ of his death. Khushgu remarks⁴ that in this house Bedil lived for the remaining thirty-six years of his life. As he died on 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720), we conclude that this house was arranged for him in 1096 A.H. (1684 A.D.), i.e. the very year of Bedil's final arrival in Dehlī.

Bedil has mentioned in the letter quoted above that he reached Shāh Jahānābād with his women. This is the first occasion since 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) when he settled in Delhi after his marriage in

1. Sher Khān, *Mirātul Khayāl* p. 290 ; Sāqī, *Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri*, p. 195.

2. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bidil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 81-82.

3. Khushgu, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 362.

4. *Ibid.*

1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) that something has been mentioned about his family. We do not know how he arranged for the household expenditure all this time or where his family lived. From the letter in question, and also from the number of carts which brought Bedil's effects from Muthura, we form the conclusion that in Muthura, at least during his last stay there, Bedil's family was with him. Moreover, Khushgū says that the poet had four¹ wives. We have seen that Bedil is in the habit of making hints here and there about the different events of his life, but it is strange that he has made no reference about such an important matter as the polygamous phase of his life. Although the words چند با شکسته lend weight to this remark of Khushgū, yet they are very ambiguous. Another statement also accompanies this remark. Khushgū says that, because of this nature of his life, Bedil used slaked red-orpiment (کشته زریخ). The author of 'Iqd-e-Surayyā' states² that when Bedil had permanently settled in Shāh Jahānābād, God provided subsistence for all the old and young (همه خورد و کلان). This shows that in Dehlī Bedil had indeed a big family.

These were disturbed times. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan fighting the Marhattas and Muslim kings of the peninsula. Only the news of reverses to the Emperor's armies reached Northern India, and, as it has been mentioned previously, these news spread like wild fire causing panic in the country. The Jāts had risen in revolt and there was trouble in the whole of Mewāt, which is an ill-defined³ tract lying to the south of Dehlī. One Bājī Rām, the proud Naruka Chief,⁴ with his seven brave sons, was the cause of mischief in the hilly territory of Mewāt. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed to crush the Naruka who, being afraid to face the Nawāb, sought refuge in flight. On this occasion Bedil's chronogram was : دل نرو که بشکست which yields 1097 A.H. (1685 A.D.) numerically. In 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.) the accursed Bājī Rām was routed completely, and when the confused remnants of Bājī's army—the Meos, the Jāts, and the Rājputs—fled away in all directions, Bedil sent a congratulatory letter⁵ to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān with a ghazal, the last verse of which is given below :

یک جهان خفاش را برقی ز آهنگش بس است
آفتابست آفتابست آفتابست آفتاب

[A single flash from his intention is enough to drive away a world of bats.

He is indeed the sun, the sun, the sun, the sun.]

1. Khushgū, in Ma'ārif, May 1942, p. 362.

2. Mushafī, Ghulām Hamdānī, 'Iqd-e-Surayyā', p. 16.

3. Imperial Gazetteers, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 223.

4. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'āt, p. 49.

5. Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil, Lucknow Edition, p. 37.

- The chronograms¹ which Bedil found out were غزوه عجیب (a strange war) and فتحی شگرف (a marvellous victory). In 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.), Nawāb Shukrullah Khān paid² a visit to Shāh Jahān-ābād, and, I think, when he returned to Mewāt, he took Bedil also with him.

When Bedil went to Mewāt, he lived in Bairāt³ – a town 105 miles south-west of Delhi, 41 miles north of Jaipur and 27 miles north-west of Meerut City. It is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low, barren red hills. Trees are in abundance in the il'āqa. Bedil passed the rainy season there. Being enchanted by the charming scenery of the countryside and the raining clouds, he experienced a spontaneous creative urge. In a short picturesque poem he describes⁴ the locality :

صبح کشور میوات یاسمن بهار است این
 بوی ناز می آید جلوه گاه یار است این
 نشه اوجها دارد عیش فوجها دارد
 عشق موجها دارد بحزبی کنار است این
 ابر شوق می بارد سیزه حسن می کارد
 سنگ هم دلی دارد طرّفه گیسار است این
 گر گل از چمن روید بانفس سخن گوید
 دل بدیده می گوید رنگ آن نگار است این
 خر می چمن پیر است جوش گل قدح پیماست
 رنگ و بو همان برجاست بے خزان بهار است این
 نقش جوهر کامل کیست تا کند باطل
 این چراغ و این محفل فضل کردگار است این
 کام دل گل و دامن آرزو طالب خرمن
 چشم بیدلان روشن مزد انتظار است این

[It is morning in Mewāt and jassamines have blossomed everywhere.

It smells of coquetry. It must be the abode of the beloved. Hilarity is on the increase, enjoyment is limitless, and Love comes like rising waves. It is indeed a boundless sea. The clouds pour down desire and verdure is sowing beauty, Even the stone has a heart. It is a strange hilly country. If a flower blossoms in the garden, it chats with the soul, The heart says to the eye, "It is the hue of that beauty." Pleasantness adorns the garden, and the excited flowers drink wine from the cup.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'āt*, p. 50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces*, p. 320; Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 341-42.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qitt'āt*, p. 55.

Colour and smell pervade everywhere. This spring knows no autumn.

Who is there to efface the impression of the perfect Essence?
This lamp and this assembly. It is a favour of the Almighty.
The realised wishes of heart are like flowers in skirt and there
is a harvest of fulfilled desires.

The eyes of those who have lost their hearts have brightened
up. It is the reward for waiting long.

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was also a poet with the poetical surname خاکسار. He left a *Diwān*² which however, has not been mentioned in any one of the catalogues. The Nawāb also tried to describe the beautiful scenes in a poem. In all humility, Bedil says that he followed³ in the footsteps of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and, in addition to the poem given above, he wrote his masterpiece—the *Maṣnavī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* in two days⁴. This shows that the creative urge⁵ was so strong that he was not satisfied with the exquisite short poem. The *Maṣnavī* is a rare piece of natural poetry in the characteristic sweet and fluent style of Bedil. On his return from Bairāt, Bedil sent this *Maṣnavī*, like the Great⁶ Sa'dī, to different⁷ persons as a present—to 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and to Mirzā Muḥammad Amin 'Irfān and Mirzā 'Ibādullah.

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 292-93.

2. *Khoṣhghū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 41.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdarī Edition, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. In *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, Bedil says:

عصای من درین گلگشت مقصود نسیم فیض شکرانه خاں بود
وگر نه من کجا کو برفشانی سرشکی بودم آنهم بی روانی

[My guide in this charming valley of desires was the breeze of Shukrullah Khān's favour.

Otherwise of what consequence am I? How could I flutter wings? I was but a tear and that too motionless.]

4. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19:

دو روزی در بس زانو نشستم خیالی را بهاری نقش بستم

[I sat meditating for two days and painted an idea into spring.]

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3. About the charm, Bedil says:

کنون در کوه پیراث آب و رنگ است که هر سنگش بدل بردن فرنگ است

[Now the Bairāt mountain has so much elegance and splendour,
That every stone bewitches the heart like a French beauty.]

6. Sa'dī has said:

در بغ آمدم زان همه بوستان تهنیت رفیق سوی دوستان

[Out of all those gardens, I thought it regrettable,
To go empty handed towards the friends.]

Similarly, Bedil writes at page 34 of his *Ruq'āt* (Lucknow Edition) that he brought *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* as a present for the lovers of poetry.

7. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 64, 49, 34, 45 respectively.

We have so far spoken of the trouble in Mewāt and have made scanty references to the Deccan—the real arena of cataclysmic uprisings. Sambhaji Marhatta, who had given refuge to Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb,¹ had proved a menace to the Mughul Empire, and Aurangzeb had, therefore, concentrated all his military strength in the Deccan. The armies of the Emperor captured² Bijapur in 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) because Sikandar, the King of Bijapur, had made alliance with Sambhaji. Aurangzeb was very gracious towards Sikandar who was enrolled among the Mughul peers, and was granted an annual pension of one lakh of rupees. Golkunda³ was then conquered in 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.). The Marhatta leader Sambhaji was captured⁴ in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) with twentyfive of his followers and their wives and daughters. These happy news of imperial victories sent a thrill of joy⁵ in the hearts and the people had a general feeling of security. Our poet also shared the jubilations of the multitude. He wrote chronograms⁶ to commemorate these victories. For the fall of Bijapur, the chronograms were *جمشید نصرت جلوہ گر* (the Jamshid of victory has appeared) and *سکندر را ایمان داد آن شه عادل* (the Just Emperor granted amnesty to Sikandar). About Golkunda he said *اعظم مطلوب* (the great fulfilment) and *فتح بادشاه نامور* (victory of the renowned monarch). When Sambhaji was captured, Bedil ejaculated: *بازن و فرزند سنبها شد اسیر* (Sambha has been made captive with women and children). The last chronogram became popular and has been given in *Ma'āsirul Umara*.⁷

The short poems, which bear the chronograms given in the preceding paragraph, pay a glowing tribute to the justice, saintliness, and world-conquering resolution of Aurangzeb. This shows that, although Bedil entertained misgivings about the behaviour of Aurangzeb during the war of succession, his views about the pious Emperor had now undergone a happy orientation. Aurangzeb too seems to have formed a very high opinion of our poet. In his *Ruqq'āt*,

1. *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara, I, p. 8050.*

2. *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhabul Lubab, II, pp. 316-16; Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri, pp. 279-80.*

3. *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhabul Lubab, II, pp. 293, 378; Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri, p. 292; Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara, III, pp. 629-29.*

4. *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri, p. 322. Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara, II, p. 330.*

5. *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri, pp. 320-22.*

Kulliyāt-i-Bedil, Safdari Edition, Qit'at, p. 49.

7. *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara, p. 350.*

the Emperor has quoted three verses of Bedil. In a letter¹ to Prince A'zam Shāh, Aurangzeb exhorts speedy extirpation of the ruffians who infest the royal road between Bahādurpur and Aurangābād and quotes Bedil² :

من نمی گویم زیان کن یا بفکر سود باش ای ز فرصت بیخبر در هر چه باشی زود باش
[I do not ask you to lose or think of gain,

O thou, unaware of opportunity, be prompt in every undertaking.]

In another letter³ the same prince has been asked to redress the wrongs done to the poor, because according to Bedil :

بترس از آه مظلومان که هنگام دعا کردن اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می آید
[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones for when they pray

Acceptance rushes from the door of the Almighty to receive it.]

This verse has again been quoted in a letter to Asad Khān, and there the full name⁴ of the poet, i.e. 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, has been given. At another place⁵ the following famous *Maq'la*⁶ of Bedil has also been adduced :

حرص قانع نیست بیدل ورنه اسباب معاش آنچه ما درکار داریم اکثری درکار نیست
[Bedil, greed is never contented, otherwise the goods, Which we require, are most often not required.]

That Bedil has been cited by the great 'Ālamgīr is a conclusive proof of the fact that the poet's enlightened contemporaries had begun to recognise his merit.

From the chronograms, concerning the victories of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, one may conclude that Bedil wanted to win the Emperor's favour. The same feeling rises in the mind when one reads Bedil writing⁷ to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān to mention the chronograms to the Emperor if some opportunity offers itself. It may also be mentioned in this connection that Nawāb Zafar Jang,⁸ who took part in the siege of Bijapur, had also asked⁹ Bedil for a chronogram, and Bedil wanted to comply with his request. If we

1. *Ruqq'at-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 8; *Letters of Aurangzeb*, pp. 26-27. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376. Khushgū is wrong when he says that the letter was written to Prince Mu'azzam during the siege of Hāyderābād.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ghazliyyāt*, p. 223.

3. *Ruqq'at-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27. The occasion for quoting the verse given by Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 368, is wrong.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ghazliyyāt*, p. 79. *Maq'la* is the last verse of a ghazal.

7. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 44.

8. *Sāqī*, *Ma'ārif-e-'Ālamgīr*, pp. 255, 261, 311; Khān Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb.

9. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 44.

study the historic letter of Bedil, in which these things have been narrated to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, we can easily understand why the chronograms were discovered and why Bedil wanted them to be presented to Aurangzeb. Bedil says:

سزده فتح پادشاه دین پناه که سبب جمعیت عالمی است دلیل فکر تاریخی گردیده -

[The happy news of the victory of the Emperor, Defender of the Faith, which has brought peace and security to the people, has led me to think of chronograms.]

The significance of the word جمعیت عالمی will be understood better if the graphic account of Bedil's last days in Muthura, and of his journey at that time to Dehli with his family, is kept in mind. Naturally, Bedil wanted to pay homage to the victorious Emperor who had again promised peace to the realm. Otherwise, Bedil's independence of spirit was unimpaired as ever, for in the same letter he says about Zafar Jang and Aurangzeb:

وگر نه چه نواب و کدام مستطاب بلکه چه عالمگیر و کدام بدر منیر - بطریق شوق بی پروا نگاشتنی دارد و یا هنگ سازی نیازی سراز پرده بیرون سی آرد -

[Otherwise of what moment is the Nawāb and who is His Excellency? Nay, even what is 'Ālamgīr and what is the value of his glaring titles? I composed it selflessly and spoke in a disinterested manner.]

In 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) Bedil fell gravely ill, and was confined to bed for full seven months. He had a high burning fever which consumed his strength altogether. Every hope of recovery was lost. During those days a friend happened to open the book which contained Bedil's painting by Anūp Chitrā. The friend, immediately on noticing the portrait, said, "It appears some child touched the painting with wet hands and effaced its colour." All those present were sorry. Bedil himself saw it that only the indistinct outlines remained—an illusion of the once colourful portrait!

بدل زان گستان همین داغ ماند ز طاؤس آخر پر زاغ ماند

[Of that garden only a scar was left on the heart, and
Of the peacock only a crow's feather was left behind.]

When Bedil recovered and was again full of vigour and vitality, he thought of looking at the portrait. He was wonderstruck to see that it was as colourful as ever, and it appeared as if Bedil was smiling through it. All were surprised to see this. In a fit of bewilderment, Bedil tore it to pieces and buried it.

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 44.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār Unsur*, pp. 111-12.

From this account it is clear that the portrait of Bedil, painted by Anūp Chitrā, one of the master-painters¹ of those days, was destroyed by the poet himself. But Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ (1111-1164/1699-1751), a pupil² of Bedil, speaks³ about another portrait of our poet :

در کتاب خانه فقیر دیوان ایشان بدستخط ایشان است و تا صورت و معنی
هر دو بجلوه آید شبیه ایشان رونق افزای ورق آخر دیوان است -

[In the library of this Faqīr (Mukhlīṣ) there is an autograph copy of his (Bedil's) *Dīwān*. And, so that the form and the spirit should exist together, his portrait decorates the last leaf of the *Dīwān*.]

In the *Ma'arif* for January 1934, it has been stated that this *Dīwān* of Bedil exists in the Ḥabīb Ganj Library. The *Dīwān* is said to have 5,364 couplets of all sorts, and has been called "Matchless." It is said to have this significant remark in the handwriting of Mukhlīṣ :

بدستخط میرزا یدل علیہ الرحمۃ - فقیر اند رام مخلص از نظر میرزا صاحب
گذرانیده این معنی بصحت رسید -

[With the autograph of Ḥazrat Mīrzā Bedil (may his soul rest in peace !). Faqīr Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ showed it to Mīrzā Ṣāhib, and established its authenticity.]

It is a pity that no mention of the portrait has been made. We have, therefore, to be content with the pen-portrait of Bedil given previously.

Bedil was now living in Shāh Jahānābād, but as his attention had been claimed chiefly by the political events of those days, we could not speak so far about his life in the capital except giving an account of his illness. It is, therefore, essential that an attempt should be made to show how Bedil led his life in the historic city. First of all, we shall speak about his social relations. As it has been already pointed out, 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, the patron of Bedil, was in those days in Shāh Jahānābād, as the Governor⁴ of the city. The Khān was a mystic poet and was well versed in mystical⁵ lore. As weekly meetings had been arranged with him, Bedil used to see him regularly. Khushīgū says that in 'Āqil Khān's society, Bedil learnt much about

1. Ja'far, S.M., *Some Cultural Aspect of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 135.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirak*, p. 425 ; Mukhlīṣ, Anand Rām, *Chamistān*, p. 68 ; Muṣṭafī, *Āqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 53.

3. Mukhlīṣ, *A page in his hand*, f. 1. (Also in *Oriental College Magazine*.)

4. It is said the *Dīwān* was compiled in 1093 A.H. But, it must be noted, Mukhlīṣ was not born then. See *Bazm-e-Timūriya*, p. 310.

5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at ul Khayāl* pp. 288-90. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 40. Shahnawāz, *Ma'asir ul Umarā*, pp. 821-22.

mysticism and poetry. Whenever in the meetings, 'Aqil Khān Rāzī complimented Bedil for his verses, he used to stand up and bow respectfully to the Khān. This respect, Khushgū says,¹ was merely on account of the learning and spiritual eminence of 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, and not at all on account of his exalted worldly position. In the *Kulliyāt of Bedil* there is a very eloquent poem,² in which he speaks glibly about the mystical ways of 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, and urges the people to show utmost reverence to this perfect man :

بدعا این است کای بی دانشان جهل کیش
دیده بکشاید و طوف حضرت انسان کنید

[I mean

O thou foolish and ignorant people,

Open your eyes and circumambulate round the Perfect Man.]

This poem discloses that in the person of 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, Bedil saw the realisation of his cherished ideals about Man. This mutual respect made their relations so intimate that in one of his letters³ we find Bedil recommending one 'Alā-ud-Dīn to the grand noble.

Next we turn to the long and intimate acquaintanceship, amounting to passionate love, which existed between Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. This is the glorious chapter of Bedil's life, detailed account of which will require a whole volume, but, owing to the considerations of space, I shall try to be as brief as possible. Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was devoted⁴ to Bedil, with all the members of his family, and Bedil too was most sincerely attached to them. The Nawāb had three sons: Mir Luṭf Ullah, Mir 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, and Mir Karāmullah. But first of all we shall speak about Bedil's relations with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Khāksār⁵ himself.

Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād states⁶ that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's last appointment was as the Governor of Mewāt where he remained till his death. He was, therefore, almost always away from Shāh Jahānābād, but his correspondence with Bedil never stopped, and at the time of his occasional visits to the Metropolis, meetings with the poet were eagerly arranged.

We have seen that once he took the poet away to Mewāt. At another time Shukrullah Khān was in Sahāranpūr and Bedil went to

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 40, 41.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Qit'at*, p. 53.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 83.

4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

5. Khāksār was the *Takhallus* of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. See Sher Khān Ledhi, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 292.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

see him. It was the rainy season and floods of water were rolling about. From Luni to Sheikupura, Bedil had to swim, but still he could not reach Sahāranpūr and hence returned¹ to Delhī. Moreover, when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was away, a stream of presents continued to pour in from him to Bedil. Thus we see him sending² sugar, patched clothing of a Darwīsh, cloth, henna on the occasion of 'Id; oil of roses, almond-oil, bottles of distilled rose-water, myrobalan and zedoary (علیه وجدوار) when Bedil fell ill; jam, clothing for the summer season, and mangoes from Sahāranpūr. We see that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān remembers Bedil on all occasions—on festivals, at the change of seasons, when the poet is indisposed, and ordinarily when the Nawāb thinks something will please Bedil. This, we know, is in addition to the daily allowance of Rs. 2 and the residential quarters arranged for Bedil by the Nawāb.

Bedil, on his part, had exclusive and excessive fondness for Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. At the end of a letter,³ Bedil writes to the Nawāb :

چه اسکان است وهم غیر گنجد در دماغ من
توئی منظور اگر چشم توئی مسموع اگر گوشم

[How is it possible that I should have fancies about others in my mind ?

My eyes have thee in view and my ears are lent to thine voice alone.]

In another letter⁴ he says :

زبان را جز ستایش آنجناب نفس کشیدن خجالت گویائی و دیده را جز
تصور آنجمال آغوش کشیدن یاس بینائی۔

[It would be shameful for my tongue to speak except in expressing my gratefulness to you; and would be disappointed with my sight if my eyes entertain fancies except about your lovely beauty.]

In 1101 A.H. (1689-90 A.D.) marriage took place of Mīr 'Ināyatullah, son of Shukrullah Khān, and Bedil wrote two congratulatory poems on the occasion. Every hemistich of the one⁵ beginning with this verse :

1. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 87.

2. *Ibid.*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 14, 15, 26, 29, 35, 39, 71, 75, 77, 90, and 92 respectively.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

5. *Sher Khān Lodhī, Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 392.

کاشانه صلاى عیش دارد ای دهر طرب مبارکت باد

[This lodging invites you for merry-making

O Time ! be honoured with mirth]

is a chronogram, while in the other¹ the chronogram is : *قرآن مه و مهو* (the conjunction of the moon and the luminous sun). The latter poem has a very fluent and delightful metre and can rightly be considered classical. Similarly, a marriage² had taken place in *Shukrullah Khān's* family in 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.). *Bedil* had written a nice poem on the occasion. We have also seen how *Bedil* wrote chronograms when *Shukrullah Khān* was victorious in *Mewāt*. There are short poems (قطعات) written on the occasion³ of the Islamic festivals and on the *Nawāb's* promotion⁴ to higher *Manṣabs*.

But we read poetry of the highest order when *Bedil* sings with an ardent longing in the absence of *Nawāb Shukrullah Khān* asking⁵ him to come back to *Shah Jahānābād* :

ای انجمن عشرت جاوید یا ای حاصل صد هزار آید یا
ظلمت کده است بی رخت کشور ما با طبل و علم چو نور خو رشید یا

[O the assembly of eternal bliss, come hither !

O the yield of a hundred thousand hopes, come hither !

Without thy presence this land is the abode of darkness.

With banners and drums, like the light of the sun, come hither.]

And again⁶ with greater sadness, deeper emotions, and profounder thoughts :

ای بهارستان اقبال ای چمن دیما یا
فصل سیر دل گذشت اکنون به چشم ما یا
عرض تفصیص از فضولیهائی آداب وفات
چون نگه در دیده یا چون روح در اعضا یا
بیش ازین نتوان حریف داغ حرم زبستن
یا سرا از خود بیر آنجا که هستی یا یا

[O the flower-garden of fortune ! O, with forehead like an Orchard ! Come now.

The time for a walk through the heart has ended
Before my eyes you should come now.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 45.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

3. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 13, 29.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 30 ; Beale, T. W., *Miftāḥ-ut Tawārīkh*, p. 286.

5. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 58.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Making special requests is against the etiquette of fidelity,
 Like sight in the eyes or like the soul in limbs, come now,
 I can no longer stand this heart-sore of separation.
 Take me away where you are, or come now.]

In a letter¹ too, love-lorn Bedil writes in this strain to Shukrullah Khān. When the Nawāb pays visits to Dehli Bedil's joy knows no bounds. He writes forceful, magnificent, sweet and soul-stirring² poems which, it is regretted, cannot be quoted at length for want of space.

Where there is boundless love, all formality usually disappears, and a unique unity of hearts is the result. We, therefore, find Bedil as one of the members of the family of Shukrullah Khān—a member who is loved, respected, trusted, and whose advice is cherished and valued. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān wants to arrange for the matrimony³ of his daughter and he consults Bedil. Delicacy of such tender and sincere relations also comes into view when we read Bedil expressing⁴ regret at leaving Shukrullah Khān's house without saying good-bye. At one place Bedil writes even about his slight bronchitis⁵ to the Nawāb. There are also letters in which Bedil recommends⁶ people to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Moreover, we find them sharing each other's sorrows. Bedil writes letters of condolence when any of Shukrullah Khān's relatives passes away.

Yet there is another phase of their relations which is far more important from our point of view. The literary world owes a great debt of gratitude to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, because it was due to his unreserved attachment for Bedil that we possess some brilliant literary gems.

Bedil got much-needed encouragement, appreciation, and stimulus from his association with the Nawāb, who was himself, as we know, a poet. Bedil sent⁷ his *Tilism-e-Hairat* to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who gave titles to its different sections and sub-sections. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* was composed at the instance⁸ of the Nawāb. The poem *Gul-e-Zard*, which is said to have 150 couplets, was also sent to Shukrullah Khān on completion.⁹ In a letter Bedil writes to the Nawāb that *Chahār 'Unṣur* and the *Masnavī 'Irfān* are both¹⁰ being written, and Bedil must have sent these works on their completion to him,

1. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'āt*, pp. 42, 51.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 27.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 63.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 14.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 10, 82.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

had the Nawāb been alive. A selection¹ of Bedil's *Diwān* was also made by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and Bedil wrote² :

لطف کریم بہانہ جوست هر که را پسندید پسندید و هر چه را برگزید برگزید

[The favour of the munificent seeks excuses. Whatever it liked, it liked, and whatever it selected, it selected.]

In addition to this, there are other instances of their collaboration in literary work. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was very much pleased with a *Maḥla'* and asked Bedil to complete³ a *ghazal* in the same metre and rhyme. The Nawāb wrote a short poem necessitating the use of چشم و دل and sent it to Bedil who wrote a similar⁴ poem. A poem of Bedil was rendered into prose⁵ by Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and at another place we find Bedil correcting⁶ the Nawāb's verses. Besides, a small pamphlet in prose, called *Gudrī Nānā*,⁷ was written by Bedil when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān sent a *Gudrī* (patched clothing) to the poet. These literary compositions are, it is clear, in addition to the ones mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

In the presence of all this data, we can safely assert that with almost all the literary productions of Bedil Nawāb Shukrullah Khān is related in one way or the other. Moreover, we know Bedil wrote his *Tilism-e-Hairat* in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) and he began his *Chahār 'Unṣur* in or about 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.). As already pointed out, we observe that for a long period of fifteen years Bedil produced no work. As soon as he left Muthura, owing to the disturbances, and settled permanently in Dehli, full bloom of his literary talents began, and his comparative sterility was suddenly changed into prolificness of unusual character. We are, therefore, thankful to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for stimulating Bedil's mind to literary activity, by establishing a sweet and enviable relationship with him and by arranging all sorts of comforts for him. The Nawāb also gained much. He earned eternal fame simply due to Bedil.

Of the sons of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān's devotion to Bedil is unsurpassed. After Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 'Abdul Wahhāb Istikhār, the author of *Tazkira-e-Benāzīr*, mentions⁸ in particular the name of Shākir Khān, who

1. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Luknow Edition, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

7. Kābul Museum Ms. No. 33; *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 15.

8. Istikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkira-e-Benāzīr*, p. 39.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

distinguished himself or his reverential regard for our poet. Shākīr Khān had won this distinction during the lifetime of his father, as the following verses¹ show :

جهاد تنگ و پوئی قطره از عمان پرس
عزم شبنم ز نیر تابان پرس
تا مرجع بیدل به یقین فهم کنی
از شکر الله خان و شاکر خان پرس

[Ask of the Gulf of 'Omān, about the efforts made in search by a drop.

Ask of the radiant luminary about the intention of the dew-drops.

If you want to make sure about the resort of Bedil,

Ask of Shukrullah Khān and Shākīr Khān.]

Shākīr Khān's fondness for Bedil was so overwhelming that when Bedil tried to compare the father with the son, in this respect, he found no difference :

از شاکر خان 2 اگر دلت آگه است
آن شکر الله خان بی اشتباه است
آنجا از آف آمده است و این جا الله
چون وانگری الف همان الله است

It is because of this deep and profound love that Shākīr Khān can claim, of course after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the largest³ number of the letters written by Bedil. In a letter⁴ a prayer for Shākīr Khān gushes out of the heart of Bedil which is unique on account of its spontaneity :

به محفل شمع تابان در گستان رنگ و بو باشی
الهی هر کجا باشی بهار آبرو باشی

[May you be a shining lamp in the assembly, and hue and fragrance in the garden.

May you everywhere be the flower of dignity !]

Such like spontaneous expressions of tender emotions can be multiplied⁵ but the space does not permit. We see that Shākīr also, like his father, used to send presents⁶ to Bedil.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qill'at*, p. 60.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 8, 33, 35, 38, 40, 43, 61, 71, 83, 90, 93, 99, 101, 129.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 71, 90; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qill'at*, pp. 44, 55, 56. The poem beginning with : التوبه ای دل که عمر رفته را دریافتم (Good news, O my heart, I have regained my passed age) shows in particular the joy Bedil felt on the arrival of Shākīr Khān in Delhi.

6. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 35, 41, 71.

Next, we shall speak of Mīr Karamullah 'Aqīl Khān 'Āshiq, the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Karamullah Khān was a poet and a pupil of Bedil. The Nawābzāda earned a fame by writing a commentary² of the Holy Qurān. Bedil's excessive love for his pupil is manifest from the following couplets, which Bedil wrote in a letter³ to the Mīr :

از حسرت دیدار چه گویم چه نویسم دل می کشد آزار چه گویم چه نویسم
خجالت کش شوق است چه تحریر و چه تقریر آخر کم و بسیار چه گویم چه نویسم

[About my longing for a meeting with you, what should I say or write?

My heart is under oppression, what should I say or write?

My writings and my speech cannot express my yearning;

After all, what more or less should I say or write?]

Mīr Karamullah also used to send presents⁴ to Bedil.

Last comes Mīr Luṭfullah, the eldest⁵ son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. It appears that this Nawābzāda could not make headway in his relations with Bedil during the lifetime of his father. We only know that when in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.) Mīr Luṭfullah's son was born, Bedil composed two chronograms⁶ نبال باغ ادب and ندای عالم فیض.

Mutual respect and attachment of this kind is not tolerated by jealous people. There was a Qalandar, named Shād, who, out of jealousy and grudge, began to accuse Bedil of "flattering Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons notwithstanding the fact that they were his pupils." This, he said, did not become a *faqīr*. One day, a certain Shāh Murtazā told Bedil that the Qalandar had again indulged in his wonted accusations. Being sensitively jealous of his own reputation, Bedil flew into rage at this uncalled-for insolence from Shād, and, in a letter,⁷ at first furiously called Shād an infidel, an ungrateful ape, a stupid bear, the tweezers of the public region (موجینه زحارتان) and a foul-mouthed, contemptible, and wretched person, and then told him that he (Bedil) was not at all the teacher of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. If, on the other hand, Bedil continued, out of courtesy they called themselves Bedil's pupils, he was not so shameless as to call himself the teacher of those noble souls who were, no doubt, his patrons.

1. Sarkhash, Muhammad Afzal, *Kalim-atush Shu'arā*, p. 80; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 271; Khushzū, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 41; *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 34, 93.

2. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 271.

3. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Saifdarī Edition, pp. 105-06.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

Jealous criticism and rivalry were expressed in another quarter also. Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, who had been in Karnatak¹ in the Deccan for some time in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) with Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the brave general² of Aurangzeb, had come to live permanently in Shāh Jahānābād. We know Nāṣir 'Alī was at one time a favourite³ of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. When he came to know that unsurpassed love prevailed between Bedil and the Nawāb, he felt jealous. Sher Khān Lodhī says that one day in a meeting⁴ at Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's, Bedil had a chance to see Shāikh Nāṣir 'Alī. Bedil recited his ghazal beginning with the following verse :

نشد آئینہ کیفیت ما ظاہر آرائی
نہاں ماندیم چون معنی بچندین لفظ پیدائی

[The mirror of our quality could not show our reality.

Like the meaning we remained hidden in so many words
explaining our nature.]

The Shāikh grew ecstatic on hearing most of the verses, but about the *Matla'* (the opening verse) he said, "The idea expressed in the second hemistich is against the rule. The meaning is always subordinate to the word, and, when the word is known, the meaning should automatically become clear." On hearing this, Bedil smiled and said in reply, "The meaning, which you regard subordinate to the word, is itself nothing but a word. Take the example of 'Man.' In spite of all the details and the commentaries which we find about 'Man' in various books, his nature is still a mystery." This peremptory reply silenced Nāṣir 'Alī. As Sher Khān Lodhī completed⁵ his *Tazkira Mir'at-ul Khayāl*, in which this event has been narrated, in 1102 A.H. (1690-91 A.D.), this meeting must have taken place before that date. When on his return from Karnatak in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) Nāṣir 'Alī observed greater intimacy between Shukrullah Khān and Bedil, the jealous poet naturally would have been more incensed.

The Shāikh was only four or five years older⁶ than Bedil, but at this time his literary activities had shown a decline, while, about the fertile genius of Bedil, Khushgū⁷ says, "Shāh Gulshan remarked now

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 130.

2. Sāqī, *Ma'āzīr-e-Ālamgīrī*, p. 390; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āzīr-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 96.

3. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at-ul Khayāl*, pp. 292-302.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 339-90.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 466.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 131; Nāṣir 'Alī was about sixty when he died in 1103 A.H.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44.

and again that at the time when Bedil had composed 30,000 verses, and was making progress by leaps and bounds, Miān Nāṣir 'Alī ceased to make any progress, and was contented with what he had already written." But Nāṣir 'Alī found a very able lieutenant in the person of the famous poet Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhush, who was brought up in Sirhind and who used to practise versification with Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, when both of them were of tender age.¹ Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhush, too, had settled² in Shāh Jahānābād. Sarkhush says that at the instance³ of Miān Nāṣir 'Alī, he applied first hemistich to many verses of Bedil and changed them into *Matla's* (opening verses). I shall quote here only one example⁴ which appears to be a very successful attempt on the part of Sarkhush :

Bedil :

به فرصت نگهی آخر است تحصیل برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[In the twinkling of an eye my acquisitions are no more ;
I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

Sarkhush :

ز بی ثباتی عشرت سرشته اند مرا برات رنگم و برگل نوشته اند مرا

[I have been kneaded with the transitoriness of pleasures ;
I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

The word بی ثباتی undoubtedly makes the idea clear, but, from the literary point of view, the charm contained in the appropriate words برات رنگ and فرصت نگه has been lost. There are other⁵ instances also but those need not be quoted for want of space.

Bedil had a favourite pupil,⁶ named Aḥmad—a rebeck-player (از ریاب نوازان), whose original *nom-de-plume* was Maftūn but he had changed it to 'Ibrat at the suggestion of Bedil. 'Ibrat had derived much benefit from Bedil, and was so dear to him that when he ('Ibrat) died in 1125 A.H. (1713-14 A.D.), tears went on trickling down the eyes of Bedil for a long time. Once⁷ Nāṣir 'Alī composed a *ghazal* with the following *Matla* and proclaimed in Shāh Jahānābād that if anyone wrote a *ghazal* in reply, he (Nāṣir 'Alī) would be convinced of the poet's leading position in the Realm of Literature.

1. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface, p. 1.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 144; Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, Preface, pp. 3, 4.

3. *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 15.

4. Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

5. Ibid.

6. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 372-73; Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 46; Siddiq Hasan, *Sham-e-Anjuman*, p. 320.

7. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, pp. 375, 382.

مقیم کوئے تو سختی کشان دلتنگ اند کہ ناله گر نکند فاش آتش سنگ اند
 [The dwellers in your street are the grieved persons enduring hardships,
 Whose groans if do not reveal them, they will remain hidden like fire in the flint.]

By chance, none wrote a *ghazal* in reply but Bedil asked Ahmad 'Ibrat to compose one. 'Ibrat, therefore, composed a nice *ghazal*, with the following *Malla'* :

بوادى، تو کہ وا مانند گن دل تنگ اند
 ز اشک خویش رواں همچو چشمه' سنگ اند
 [In your valley the gloomy and disappointed persons
 Weep, and with their tears a stream, like that of a mountain,
 flows out]

Both the *ghazals* have been given¹ in the *Tazkira Mir'at-ul Khayāl*. When Nāṣir 'Alī heard the *ghazal* of 'Ibrat, he was reticent. It was because of this rivalry that when the *Shāikh* breathed his last² in 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.), Bedil's chronograms³ was:

رنگ ناز بشکست

As in the beginning⁴ *Shāikh* Sa'dullah Gulshan was a pupil of Sarkhush, and afterwards had begun to associate himself with Bedil also, *Khushgū* once thought⁵ that Gulshan could prove instrumental in bringing Sarkhush and Bedil together. *Khushgū* was of opinion that reconciliation between these two literary giants would certainly prove immensely fruitful. *Khushgū* and Gulshan, therefore, together approached Sarkhush, who refused, saying, "Perhaps you want to see the fight of two elephants." Sarkhush then recited the following *Malla'* of Bedil :

از فضل حق ز هر دو جهان رم گرفته ایم
 یک در گرفته ایم وجه بحکم گرفته ایم

[Through Divine Favour, we have abandoned both the worlds;
 We have taken hold of one door and how tightly we hold it.]
 and remarked that فضل حق (Divine Favour) was required everywhere except in this verse. *Khushgū* says that Sirāj-ud-Din-'Alī Khān Ārzū⁶ regarded this objection as absolutely wrong. This, however, goes to the credit of Sarkhush that in his *Tazkira Kalimātush Shu'arā*,

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at-ul Khayāl*, pp. 375, 382.

2. Azād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 131.

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942.

4. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 98.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, for July 1942, p. 44.

6. Khān Ārzū (1100-1169 A.H.), a great linguist and poet, who left *Mawāhibat-e-Uzmā*, *'Alfā-e-Kubrā*, *Sirāj-ul Lughat*, *Chirāḥ-e-Hidāyat*, *Nauādirul Alfāq*, and *Dād-e-Sakhun* on philology and rhetorics. See *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 227-31.

which he kept improving¹ till 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), he has unqualified praise for Bedil as a poet and admits that no poet in Shāh Jahānābād was a match² for him. This admission must have been made after the death of Nāṣir 'Alī.

From the literary field we should turn to the spiritual domain. Both Nāṣir 'Alī and Sarkhūsh were Sūfīs. The former lived in Shāh Jahānābād with claims to "polehood"³ (قطبیت) while the latter says⁴ about himself:

سر خوش چو رسید کار فقرش بکمال مرشد دادش خلافت از استقبال
روی طلب آورد جهانی به نیاز تاریخ شده خلیفه شاه جلال

[When the mysticism of Sarkhūsh attained perfection,

His spiritual leader granted him vicariate,

A large number of people came respectfully for benedictions,

The chronogram was : Vicar of Shāh-e-Jalāl.]

Miān Nāṣir 'Alī was about fifty when he claimed polehood and Sarkhūsh was⁵ forty-five when he talked about his perfection (کمال) in Mysticism. In direct contrast with these pretentious claims, Bedil's humility is marvellous. At the age of twenty-six he had realised that the titles like غوث, ابدال and قطب were quite unsubstantial, and about کمال (perfection) we have only to read the following verses⁶ from Bedil's *Muḥīṭ-e-A'zām*, which he wrote at the youthful age of twenty-four :

شبی داشت باعشق گفت و شنید	شنیدم که شیخ زان بایزید
خیالش نقاب تمنا کشود	به بحر حضور تجلی شهود
که یابد درین بزم رنگ نبول	که یارب چه آرم من بوالفضول
که فرش است اینجا بهار کمال	ندا آمد از حضرت ذوالجلال
مهیاست این کشور بی خلل	زجنس عبادات و علم و عمل
متاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست	کمال ترا کس خریدار نیست

[I have heard that Bayazid,⁷ the leader of the world,

Had one night conference with Love.

In that flood of Glorious Light,

His mind ventured to reveal a wish.

"My Lord ! What should this worthless person do

1. Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shulārā*, Preface, p. 13.

2. Ibid., p. 14.

3. Ibid., p. 76.

4. Ibid., p. 129, footnote.

5. *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Saru-e-Āzād*, p. 144.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ṣafdarī* Edition, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'zām*, p. 16.

7. Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī (261/875) ; *Atiqār*, Farid-ud-Dīn, *Taḥkīratul Auliya* p. 89 ; Smith, Margaret, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 26.

Which may be honoured with acceptance in this assembly ?"
 He heard a Voice from that Glorious Presence :
 "The bloom of perfection is Our floor
 Things like prayer, knowledge, and good actions
 Are all assorted in this flawless Realm.
 None would buy your perfection,
 Nothing but imperfection is required here.]

Bedil was in this way leading a very happy and successful life when two calamities befell him. In 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.) Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzī died.¹ Bedil mourned this loss in a poem,² and the chronogram was : *مہدی جمجاء عاقل خان نمائد*. In the poem hints were dolefully made about the grand noble as a poet, as an eminent mystic, and as a great administrator. In the same year on 8th Rabi I, (October 5, 1695) Nawāb Shukrullah Khān also passed away. Bedil's grief was insupportable and a cry of lamentation burst out of his heart :

فریاد کان جمال کرم در جہاں نمائد طاؤس جلوہ ریز دریں آشیان نمائد

[Alas ! the glory of munificence is no more in the world,
 The peacock displaying its beauty is no more in this nest.]

The following verse of this threnody³ shows the extent of bereavement :

طوفان گریہ بسکہ زہر مجمع جوش زد جز دجلہ در سالک ہندوستان نمائد

[Every crowd burst into a flood of tears ;

Nothing except the river Tigris remained in the length
 and breadth of Hindustan.]

While writing this poem of ten couplets, every hemistich of which is a chronogram, Bedil was reminded of the kind regards and faithfulness (کرم و وفا) of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the qualities which Bedil could never forget. Another⁴ chronogram was : *ہشت از ماہ ربیع الاول*.

In a letter⁵ to Mīr Luṭfullah, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, Bedil sorrowfully remarked why he could not die with his friends and why he strayed behind his caravan. In another letter⁶ to Mīr Luṭfullah, condoling on his father's death, Bedil says :

از دست رفتن دامن دواتی کہ سلسلہ موافقتش دوازده سال بحرک عشرت
 آہگی ساز انقاس بود چشم عبرت یکبارہ بر روئی ادبار تنہائی و بیکسی کشود -
 نہ موجب مشفق کہ بہ علاج تفرقہ دل توان برداخت نہ طاقت حرکتی کہ بہ
 شغل سیر و سفر طرح آوارگی توان انداخت -

1. *Sāqī, Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgīrī*, p. 383.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qit'at*, p. 57.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

5. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 72.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[On account of losing the skirt of Fortune, whose agreeableness made my life pleasant continuously for twelve years, my afflicted eyes find themselves face to face with loneliness and helplessness. There is neither the society of a kind-hearted friend, which might prove a remedy for the bereaved soul, nor have I the nerves to move about, so that I might go abroad (and remove my grief).]

This quotation shows that from 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.), the date of the arrival of Bedil in Dehli from Muthura, to 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.), the date of the sad demise of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the period of twelve years was of unparalleled happiness for Bedil.

From a perusal of the *Letters of Bedil* and his *Qit'at* we learn that Bedil's relations continued as usual with the successors of both 'Aqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. Qayyūm Khān Fidāi, the son¹ of 'Aqil Khān Rāzī, was a poet. He used to send his ghazals² to Bedil, and letters were also exchanged³ between them on occasions. In 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.), the title of Shukrullah Khān was granted by Aurangzeb to Mīr Luṭfullah, the eldest son of Shukrullah Khān I. Bedil was very much pleased and communicated his congratulations in a letter, every phrase of which was a chronogram. In verses⁴ too, the event was similarly commemorated and the following hemistich is in particular noteworthy :

زند، آن رودی که موجش وصف دریا آب داد

[That river has eternal life whose waves even have the qualities of a river.]

This is again a lengthy account and I should be content with the most essential things. At one time (1110/1698) Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, the second son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, was appointed the Governor of Shāh Jahānābād and Bedil was very happy.⁵ At another time, to the great sorrow⁶ of Bedil, Shākir Khān was called by the Emperor to the Deccan, and there he arranged a Jāgīr for Bedil, but our magnanimous Faqīr refused⁷ to take possession of it. With Mīr Karamullah Khān 'Ashiq, the youngest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, too, Bedil's relations continued⁸ to be as cordial as ever.

1. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110, 124.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

5. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Qit'at.

6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 88.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 101, 102.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 104.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 46, 61, 103, 105.

In the preceding paragraphs I had the occasion to speak about two pupils of Mirza 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, i.e. Ahmad 'Ibrat and Mir Karamullah Khān 'Ashiq. This fact of Bedil's having pupils brings to mind a very significant remark made by Rieu. He says, "In Delhi Bedil's house was the common resort of all lovers of poetry." At this stage I would, therefore, like to give here, one by one, a brief and relevant account of those persons who came in contact with Bedil in this connection during the reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr.

1. *Mir Qamar-ud Dīn Shākir* son of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Feroz Jang. This is the original name of Nizām-ud-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr granted him the Mansāb of 5,000, with the title of Chīn Qlij Khān Bahādur, and was the sūbedār of Bījāpur till the Emperor's reign.² In tracing the gradual development of Chīn Qlij Khān's relations with Bedil, we come across a letter³ from which we learn that the poet sent his Dīwān and his Masnavīs to the Nawāb at his request. The joy which Bedil felt on the arrival of Chīn Qlij Khān's letter is manifest from a poem⁴ which is remarkable for its spontaneity, freshness of similes and metaphors, and the delightful metre, and in which there is a prayer for a meeting with the Nawāb :

یار بیاں تجلی رحمت کہ فضل تست ابریز نور کن ز رخس چشم بیدلان

[O God! by that Glory of Thy compassion, which is thine favour,

Let Bedil's eyes be filled with the light of his shining face]

And when the Nawāb paid a visit, Bedil was highly pleased. Only a few selected verses are cited from the poem⁵ written on the occasion :

یار بادہ کہ بوئی بہار جاں آمد فروغ مہر ازل چن قلبچ خان آمد
بسر کشور ما از نوید اتبالی سعادت آمد و امن آمد و امان آمد
نداشت بیدل ما طافت زیارت او کرم نمود و بدرمان نخستگان آمد

[Bring wine, I smell the advent of the life giving spring.

The glory of the sun of Eternity, i.e. Chīn Qlij Khān, has arrived.

By the happy news of his fortunate visit, in our land,
Felicity, peace, and security have arrived.

1. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum, Arabic and Persian Mss.* F. 705 B.
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 33 ; Sāqī, *Ma'āzīr-e-Ālamgīr*, p. 340.
3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 14-15.
4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qillāt*, p. 44.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Our Bedil had not the strength to see him.

He showed kindness and himself came to see the exhausted ones.]

These relations developed into sincere friendship,¹ and, after Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, the second member of the nobility of those days, entering into profoundest relationship with Bedil, was this Chīn Qlīj Khān. Whenever Bedil went to see the Nawāb at his residence he would respectfully receive and see off Bedil, and always offered² his Masnad to him. Visits were returned³ by the Nawāb, and whenever he came, Bedil used to receive him at the door. Then, hand in hand, he would take the Nawāb inside, and very delightful meetings used to take place. The Nawāb very much liked the sweets prepared with eggs (حلوائی بیضه مرغ) and he, therefore, often requested Bedil for the same. At the time of departure, when Bedil offered the Nawāb books like *Kīmīyā-e-Sa'ādāt*, and *Nafhāt*,⁴ the Nawāb would say, "Such like books are in abundance in my own library. I want the blessed gift of your own works." Then Bedil used to offer him autograph copies of his own works.

We have evidence⁵ in support of the fact that the Nawāb sent his ghazals to Bedil for correction, and he, therefore, always regarded himself as the pupil⁶ of Bedil. Khushgū says that the Nawāb compiled his Dīwān⁷ with the help of Bedil. In Haidarābād Deccan, two volumes of the Nawāb's Dīwān, one with the poetical title of *Shākir*, and the other with *Āṣaf* as *nom de plume* have been published, and from both the volumes, the Nawāb's indebtedness to Bedil is manifest. Bedil has a famous line⁸ :

بیدل بودم هزار دل گر دیدم

[I was without a heart and now I have a thousand]

and the Nawāb says⁹ :

یکدل هزار دل شده از گریه هائی ما

[By my weeping one heart broke into a thousand pieces.]

There is also a ghazal¹⁰ in which a line of Bedil has been inserted in this way :

بیدل صاحب دل شاگرد چه خوش فرموده است
هرچه لیلی گویدم باید ز محفل بشنوم

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Iftikhār, 'Abdul Wahhāb, *Tazkira-e-Benazir*, p. 39.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43.

4. *Kīmīyā-e-Sa'ādāt* by Alt-Chozzālī, and *Nafhāt* by Jāmī.

5. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 128, 136.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; Iftikhār, *Tazkira-e-Benazir*, p. 39.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 366; *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 5.

8. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 5.

9. *Shākir*, Dīwān, I, p. 15.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-3.

[*Shākir* ! What a superb saying has Bedil--the noble-hearted,
 "Whatever Layla says to me I should hear from the listener."]

In the end I give below two opening verses of the *ghazals* of both the poets :

Bedil¹:

گه از موئی میان شهرت دهد نازک خیالی را
 گه از چین ابرو سخته خواندیت عالی را

[At times by his hair-like thin waist the beloved gives publicity to subtle conceit,
 And sometimes by the wrinkles of her brow she points to a pause even in a sublime verse]

Āṣaf²:

نگه می فروشش بر کند مینائی خالی را
 رخس از خوی تری بخشد بهار برشگالی را

[Her tipsy looks fill an empty goblet with wine ; and
 Her face by its sweat lends freshness to the flowers of the rainy season.]

The rhyme and the metre of these two *ghazals* speak for themselves.

2. *Nawāb Sa'adatullah Khān*³ in his *Gulshan-e-Sa'adat*⁴ is seen requesting Bedil for a gift of his *Tilism-e-Hairat*, *Muhit-e-A'zam* and his *Biyāze Khāṣ* (Anthology). The *Biyāz* (Anthology) has been ably described by Rieu⁵ and contains choice poems by a vast number of poets. The Nawāb's letter to Bedil for the gift is a proof of the fact that our poet's works were studied eagerly by the scholars of those days.

3. *Mīr 'Abdus Samad Sakhun*: We already know the Mīr got his *Takhalluṣ* from Bedil. One day⁶ Sakhun offered a Burhānpur-dagger to Bedil, who, being pleased with it, gave two amphibolic verses to Sakhun. As he lived with the Amīrs of low standing and, therefore, lived from hand to mouth, one day he read the following couplet complaining about his bad luck :

نلاطون گر بیاید می شود عاجز به تدبیرم
 که منصب آتش داغی شد و جاگیر جان گیرم

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*.

2. *Āṣaf, Diwān*, p. 6.

3. The Nawāb was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb. See *Shāhnawāz Khān, Ma'āsirul Umara*, II, p. 513.

4. Sa'adatullah Khān, *Gulshan-e-Sa'adat*, Ms., Punjab University Library.

5. Rieu, *Catalogue of the British Museum Arabic and Persian Mss.* under Nos. 16302-03.

6. *Khushgā*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 45.

[Even if Plato himself came, he would not be able to cure me.

My mansab is a fiery brand and my Jāgīr robs me of life.]
On hearing the couplet, Bedil immediately changed the word آتشین into آتشک (syphilis). Sakhun was a pupil¹ of Bedil, and, from a letter² of Bedil, we learn that Sakhun sent his verses to Bedil, who was very much pleased and prayed :

رنگینی بهار سخن لایزال باد

[May the bloom of your verse be eternal!]

4. *Lāla Shīv Rām Hayā*³ (d. 1144/1731) was a pupil of Bedil and wrote his *Gulgasht-e-Iram* in the style of Bedil's *Chahār 'Unsur*.

5. *Lala Sukh Rāj Sabqat*⁴ (d. 1138/1725) was the ablest of Bedil's Hindu pupils. He left a *Diwān* having 10,000 verses, which was destroyed. Once he wrote the following quatrain about the birth of Bedil and showed it to him :

آن ذات ابد قدرت تفریمه مقام عبد القادر نمود تشبیهش نام
شد زنده یکی بهر مسیحائی دیں آمد دگر اکنون بشی احیائی کلام

[That Eternal Essence free from any mixture,
Gave its similitude the name of 'Abdul Qādir.
One was born to give new life to the Faith, and
The second now came for the Renaissance of verse.]

6. *Muhammad 'Atā Ullah 'Atā*⁵ (d. 1136/1723)⁵ a pupil of Bedil who belonged to Murādābād. 'Atā Ullah was a great humourist and whenever he came, Bedil used to speak of his facetiae instead of his usual monotheistic verses. Bedil would say that 'Atā deserved to be instructed in facetious verses. Once Bedil granted him his own inkstand and his *Biyāz*. At this 'Atā composed the following Rubā'i thanking Bedil :

بیدل شد اتلیم کمال هر فن از گوشه چشم تا نظر داشت بمن
از روئی عنایت قلمدان و بیاض فرمود مرا وزارت ملک سخن

[Bedil, the sovereign ruler of the realm of the perfection of every art,

Regarded me with affection, and
He, therefore, granted to me his inkstand and *Biyāz*.
It means he made over to me the portfolio of verse.]

1. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 78.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 43; Springer, I, p. 121; Ali, Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 144; Husain Quli Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms., F. 159.

3. 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 199; Springer, Vol. I, p. 123.

4. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 47-48; 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 197; Siddiq Hasan, *Roḡḡ-e-Raushan*, p. 29; Husain Quli Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Ms. F. 232.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, pp. 46-47; Springer, I, p. 126; 'Ali Hasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 287.

7. *Bindra Ban Dās Khushgū*¹. On the authority of the author of *Maqālātush Shu'arā*, Springer writes that *Khushgū* too was a pupil of Bedil. *Khushgū* himself says that from his early life he came in contact with Bedil and learnt from him the contents of pamphlets on Prosody and on Riddles, and also several *Diwāns* of Tāzāgū Poets. As both of them were of the same age, Bedil observed no formalities with *Khushgū*. It is from the *Safīna-e-Khushgū*² that many details about the life of Bedil are known. *Khushgū* says that he saw Bedil more than a thousand times in his life, and towards the end of Bedil's life he saw him almost daily.

8. *Barkhurdār Beg Fardī*³ (d. 1119/1707), a poet and a pupil of Bedil.

9. *Mir Muḥammad Aḥsan Ijād*⁴ (d. 1133/1720) got his *Takhalluṣ* from Bedil and was also recommended by Bedil to *Husain Qulī Khān*.

10. *Gur Baksh Huzūrī*⁵ had meetings with Bedil for many years and thus attained perfection in versification.

11. *Mughāl Khān Qābil*⁶ (d. 1142/1729) was a pupil of Bedil. In the beginning his *Takhalluṣ* was *San'at* but changed it at the instance of Bedil.

12. *Shāh Sa'dullah Gulshan*⁷ (d. 1141/1728) was in the beginning a pupil of *Sarkhush*, but on discovering a spiritual affinity with Bedil, he entered into the literary society of the latter. Both of them were *ṣūfī* poets and both loved music. Bedil suggested to *Shāh Sa'dullah* that he should have *Gulshan* as his poetical name in conformity with *Shāh Gul*, the name of his spiritual director. In *Maqālātush Shu'arā*, he has been mentioned as one of the pupils of Bedil.

13. *Khawāja 'Abdullah Sāqī*⁸ was a friend of Bedil.

14. *Āqā Ibrāhīm Faizān*⁹, son of *Āqā Muḥammad Husain Khān Nāzī*, often arranged poetical meetings at his house and invited

1. Springer, I, p. 155; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 48.

2. Manuscript copy of the second volume of the *Safīna of Khushgū* exists only in the Bankepur Library. From that copy Qāzī 'Abdul Wudūd of Patna diligently searched out all the details relating to Bedil and got them published in *Ma'ārif* for May and July, 1942.

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

4. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 118; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmra*, p. 28.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45; Siddiq Ḥasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 181.

6. *Khushgū* in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942 p. 48; 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subḥ-e-Gulshān*, p. 315.

7. *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 96; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 19; Springer, I, 128, 153; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 47.

8. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 45.

9. *Ibid.*

Bedil. Khushgū says that he derived much benefit from those meetings.

15. Mīr Muḥammad Zanān Rāsikhī (d. 1107/1695) had intimate social relations with Bedil and entered into friendly competition with him in writing poetry.

16. Īzād Bakḥsh Rasā² (d. 1119/1707), a pupil of 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat and a convert from Shī'aism. He adopted Sunnī as his Takhalluṣ, but, in view of his tall stature, Bedil suggested Rasā. The poet accepted the title as soon as he heard it from Bedil, stood up, and bowed respectfully. He used to send his ghazals to Bedil for correction.

At several places in his Ruqq'āt,³ Īzād Bakḥsh Rasā has made references about Bedil. At one place he writes⁴ to Prince A'zam Shāh :

بیدل همه دل را دیدم و از دلمش پر می‌دم آخر شهر رمضان یا اول شوال
آجا می رسد -

[I saw Bedil who is all heart, and made enquiries about his intentions. Towards the end of the month of Ramāzān or in the beginning of Shawwāl he will reach there.]

In another⁵ letter he writes to the same prince :

انشاء الله العزيز ميرزا عبدالقادر بيدل که سراپا دل است عنقریب ملازمت سعادت
اندوزد -

[God wishing, Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, who is all heart, will very soon make himself fortunate by entering your service.]

It appears that these letters were written when Bedil had not yet joined the army. We also learn from these quotations that Rasā was very much influenced by the spirit which actuated Bedil. Another statement⁶ made by Rasā shows that both the poets were fast friends. At one time Bedil, Rasā, one Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and another Khawāja Ḥabībullah were living together in a serai (inn) when some armed soldiers began to fight amongst themselves. Bedil, Rasā and their two other mates rushed to the scene and Rasā was wounded in the side by a stray arrow. I have not been able to

1. Sher Khān Lodhī, Mīr'at-ul Khayāl, p. 306; Khushgū, in Ma'ārif, July 1942, p. 44; Siddiq Ḥasan, Sham'-e-Anjuman, p. 174.

2. Khushgū, in Ma'ārif, July 1942, p. 44; Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil, pp. 4, 46.

3. Rasā, Īzād Bakḥsh, Ruqq'āt, Punjab University Library, Ms. No. 3957.

4. *Ibid.*, F. 7 a.

5. Rasā, Īzād Bakḥsh, Ruqq'āt, Punjab University Library Ms. No. 3957, F. 7 b.

Ibid., No. 3957, F. 41 a.

determined the date and place of this happening. Still, from this statement of Rasā we conclude that both the poets were intimate friends and associates.

17. *Muḥammad Amīn 'Irfān*² was a manṣabdār and a pupil of Bedil. On his return from Bairāt, Bedil sent his *Masnavī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* to 'Irfān as a present brought from a distant place.

18. *Muḥammad Sāfiq Ilqā*³ was a pupil of Bedil.

19. *Shēr Khān Lodhī*⁴ had meetings with Bedil which have been mentioned in *Mir'ātul Khayāl*.

20. *Mirzā 'Ibādullah*⁵ was a cousin of Bedil through maternal uncle and was older in age. He was a poet and a couplet by him has been given by *Khushgū* :

برنگی دوخت بلبل چشم بر گل که شد پیراهن گل چشم بلبل

[In such a way did the nightingale sew its eye on the flower,
That the eye of nightingale became the garment of flower.]

In his letters Bedil addresses *Mirzā 'Ibādullah* as his brother. *Mirzā 'Ibādullah* used to send his *ghazals* to Bedil who was always anxiously awaiting letters from his cousin. Bedil sent his *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* to *Mirzā 'Ibādullah* also.

21. *Rasīd Khān Bāzīl*,⁶ the celebrated writer of *Hamla-e-Haidarī* having 90,000 verses, in the metre of *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, and in praise of the Prophet and his cousin and son in law 'Alī. Bāzīl was a friend of Bedil. In a letter Bedil recommended one *Mīr Muḥammad* and his friends to Bāzīl when he was the Governor of Bareilly.

22. *'Ashiq Muḥammad*⁷ met Bedil in Islāmābād (Muthura). Bedil calls him the Embellisher of Nature (چمن طراز نظرت) and recommends to one *Khān Bahādur Mīān La'l Muḥammad*, a relative of *Nawāb Shukrullah Khān*, and says that *Himmat* had written a nice *Qaṣ'ida*, in the style of *Tālib Amīlī*—the poet-laureate of Jahāngīr.

1. Rasā says that the fight took place on the 7th of the *Ṣafar*, but does not mention the year. At folio 40-a he says that on the 9th of the same *Ṣafar* Aurangzeb allowed Prince A'ẓan Shāh to make requests in the Darbār with the *Bakhshīs*. At folio 42-a a letter is dated *Ḥasan Abdāl*, the 21st *Rajab* 1086 A.H. Now we know Aurangzeb was in *Ḥasan Abdāl* in 1085 A.H. (vide *Sāqī*, *Musta'id Khān*, *Ma'āsir-e-Ālamgiri* and Bedil too left Dehli, in 1085 A.H., for Lahore, and from there proceeded to *Ḥasan Abdāl*).

2. 'Abdul Jabbār Khān *Tazkira-e-Mahbūbuz Zamān*, II, p. 1014.

3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 34; Springer, I, p. 118; *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shuarā*, p. 8; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 42.

4. *Shēr Khān Lodhī*, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 391.

5. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 28, 45, 59; *Quadratullah Qāsim*, *Majm'a-e-Naghz*, II, p. 179; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

6. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 59; *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shuarā*, p. 10; *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 141.

7. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, pp. 58, 82; *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shuarā*, pp. 125; *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 44.

23. *Maulvi Muhammad Sa'id I'jaz Akbarābādī*¹ (d. 1117/1705) was a pupil of *Shāikh 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat* and had meetings with *Bedil* and other poets of his day. *I'jaz* used to write *ghazals* imitating the metre and rhyme of the *ghazals* of those poets.

24. *Nawāb Husain Qulī Khān*,² *Khān Daurān*, was a poet who used to send his *ghazals* to *Bedil* for correction. He was a friend of *Bedil* and, when he was in the Deccan, *Bedil* pined for a meeting with him. *Bedil*, therefore, was much pleased on the *Nawāb's* return to *Akbarābād*. Once *Bedil* sent his works to the *Nawāb*, and at another time praised him for his success in copying his (*Bedil's*) style. But as the *Nawāb's* language was not so elegant on occasions, *Bedil* advised him to study his (*Bedil's*) prose and verse regularly to acquire the desired elegance of expression. The *Diwān* of the *Nawāb* was with *Bedil*, and a few verses which the *Nawāb* had sent for correction were included in it. *Bedil*, after having gone through the *Diwān* completely, asked the *Nawāb* to give it to the scribe for transcription.

25. Last but not the least, I would mention *Walī Deccanī* who has been regarded as the Father of Urdu verse. He paid a visit³ to Dehli in 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D.) and recited his Urdu *ghazals* there. It has not been recorded by any *Tazkira*-writer that *Walī* saw *Bedil*, but it is a fact that *Walī* was much influenced⁴ by *Sa'duallah Gulshan*, a close friend of *Bedil*, and he, therefore, must have at least known *Walī*. The author of *Tūr-e-Kalīm* says that, when in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) *Walī's* Urdu *Diwān* reached Dehli, poets like *Mīr Mu'iz Mūsavī Khān Fīrat*, *Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil*, and *Mīrzā 'Abdul Ghānī Beg Qabūl* imitated⁵ it. This assertion appears to be based on conjecture, for *Bedil* was in Lahore from 1131 to 1133 A.H., and returned to Dehli in Muharram 1133 A.H., only to die a few days later. It is, therefore, obvious that *Bedil* found no time to imitate *Walī* in 1133 A.H. In my opinion, the arrival of *Walī* himself in Dehli, and the common⁶ trend of the poets of those days to compose verses in Urdu occasionally, induced *Bedil* to write a few couplets in Urdu also. Hence the earliest *Tazkira*-writers of Urdu give the following three

1. *Sarkhush, Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 6; *Husain Qulī Khān, Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, No. f. 121b.

2. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 94, 104, 111, 117, 118, 120. *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, *Ma'āsir-e-'Ālamgiri*, *Muntakhabāt Lubāb*, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, or any other contemporary History Book makes no mention of *Husain Qulī Khān*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Walī*, 12, Preface.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Nūrul Hasan, Tūr-e-Kalīm*, p. 3.

6. *Mīr Ja'ar Zafallī*, *Anand Rām Mukhlis*, *Khān Ārzū*, *Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām*, *Shāh-e-Faṣīḥ Afshār* and other friends and pupils of *Bedil* composed verses in Urdu. It may be noted that *Zafallī* was killed in the beginning of the

couplets¹ by Bedil :

شہرہ حسن سے از بسکہ وہ معجوب ہوا
اپنے چہرہ سے جھگڑتا ہے کہ کیوں خوب ہوا

مت بوجھ دل کی باتیں وہ دل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں
اُس تخم بے نشان کا حاصل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں
جب دل کے آستان پر عشق آن کر پکارا
پردے سے یار بولا بیدل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں

[The beloved fights shy on account of the fame of her beauty.
She is angry with her face, why it is so lovely.

Don't make queries about the heart. Not that, but I myself
am here.

That untraceable seed has no fruit. Only I am here.

When Love called out at the altar of heart,

The Beloved cried out of the veil, "Not Bedil, but I am
here."]

From what we have so far said about Bedil's stay in Dehli, one can easily learn how he was leading his life there. Still there are other details which must be known to form a clearer picture of his life in the capital. We are indebted for them to *Khushgu*,² to Sayyid Muḥammad,³ son of Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Wāsi (who, with his father, had meetings with Bedil), and to Bedil⁴ himself.

Bedil usually remained indoors for the whole of the day composing verses and studying books. In the evening he used to come out in his *Dīwān Khāna* (Drawing Room), where his pupils, his friends, and other visitors gathered round him. The meetings always continued till midnight, and Bedil used to relate significant anecdotes and worthwhile experiences in those meetings. In the course of such like talks he would say, "Let us now commence the praises of God." He would then take his *Kulliyāt* which had four hemistiches in one line,

reign of Farrukh Siyar when the *Dīwān of Walī* had not yet arrived in Dehli. See 'Alī Luṭf, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 30; Gardezī, Fateh 'Alī Husainī, *Tazkira-e-Rekhta Goyān*, p. 2; Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, pp. 4, 5, 9, 32.

1. Mīr Ḥasan, *Tazkira-e-Shu'arā-e-Urdu*, p. 59. Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'arā*, pp. 2, 3. Qāsim, Qudratullah, *Makhsan-e-Nikāt*, p. 13. Shafīq, Lachhmi Nārain' *Chamanistān-e-Shu'arā*, p. 44. Šafīr Bilgrāmī, *Tazkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khizr*, p. 99. Šafīr Bilgrāmī says that he copied the first and the third couplets from a *Biyāz* of Sayyid Mūsa Kāzīm Bilgrāmī written 100 years before the date (1302 A.H.) of the composition of the *Jalwa-e-Khizr*.

2. *Khushgu*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 364, 365.

3. Muḥammad, Sayyid, *Tafsīratun Nāzīrīn*, in *Jalwa-e-Khizr*, p. 97.

4. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 59-60.

and would recite his verses. In the course of the recitations, all those present were addressed one by one. Although, ordinarily, he spoke very low, separating one word from the other, he recited poetry in a pronounced and majestic tone, which was burdensome for the audience, and was audible even in the street. Khushgū, of his own sweet will, wrote *Malfuzāt*, in which he recorded what transpired in those informal but highly instructive meetings. Bedil had a servant named Mazmūn about whom Khushgū wrote :

بیدل کہ تخت گہ فصاحت مقام اوست معنی کنیز او شد و مضمون غلام اوست

[Bedil, who sits on the throne of eloquence,

Has idea as his maid-servant, and meaning (مضمون) as his slave.]

Bedil used to ask Mazmūn to prepare the *Huqqa* for smoking and, whenever he gave an order, he spoke in a commanding tone, and knocked at the door although the servant was at hand.

Bedil was very particular about taking exercise. The number of his daily *bians* (sit-stand) reached four and often five thousand. While wrestling he used to pick up his rivals with his hands and then threw them down. As no man proved a match for him, he kept a strong horse with which he used to grapple on a high mound. Once Bedil was inclined towards a barber's son who, by chance, displayed undesirable behaviour. Bedil slapped him and the poor boy died instantaneously. On another occasion, Bedil's foot slipped. To keep himself erect, he suddenly took his hands to a wall which tumbled down. This shows he had the strength of a giant. The staff, which he carried in his hands, weighed thirty-five seers and he had named it *Bulas*, which means a slender twig. One day he came out of his house with this 'slender twig' in hand. Shāikh Kabīr, who was one of Bedil's friends and who had been visiting him continuously for years, began to talk about it. Bedil said immediately in praise of his staff :

سنت الانبياء - زينت الصالحين - مؤنس الاعرجى - مدد الضعفاء - دافع الاعداء -

[The tradition of the prophets ; the ornament of the pious ; the companion of the blind ; the helper of the weak ; and the terror for the enemies.]

He also added that to drive away the enemy one must have a strong staff.

Bedil was a voracious eater and in his youth he could eat seven or eight seers of food. In his old age, too, he ate two or three seers, which Khushgū saw with his own eyes. Khushgū says that when Bedil was young he tasted the forbidden drink, but in old age it did not suit his temperament. In *Chahār 'Unsur* Bedil himself has described how he participated in a convivial meeting. Again, in *Chahār 'Unsur*

(which is a book of confessions too), Bedil says that when he saw Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream in Akbarābād, he handled the flask of wine very reluctantly. This shows that his conscience then had so much abhorrence for wine that, even in his dreams, he would not touch it. Khushgū makes another assertion¹ too. He says that Bedil, in his old age, used Hashish-water during summer and called it Maujī, and replaced it by Aujī, during winter, which was an electuary of Hashish. Khushgū supports himself by the following couplet of Bedil :

شادم که نظرتم نیست تریاکنی تعین و همی که می فروشم بنگ است و گاه است

[It is gratifying that I am not a regular opium-eater,

I have only fancy for Bhang (Hashish), and that too now and then.]

As Khushgū was a constant visitor of Bedil, we cannot declare his statements about intoxicants to be altogether wrong. This, too, has been stated by Khushgū that Bedil used slaked² red-orpiment (کشته زرنیخ).

There is still another phase of Bedil's life which needs some comments. At this time of his life, besides his wife (or four wives as Khushgū, says) Bedil's living relatives,³ who are known to us were: Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, Mīrzā Rūḥullah, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id. Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a cousin from a maternal uncle, and as in a letter both Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and Mīrzā Rūḥullah have been addressed by Bedil as brothers, the latter also must have been similarly a cousin of Bedil. As regards Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id, he was the son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah and, therefore, the nephew of Bedil. From among the descendants of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah, the author of Majmū'a-e-Naghz, gives the names of two persons:⁴ Hakīm Fazlullah, a poet, and Hakīm Muḥammad Hafīz Khān of Panipat. Beyond this, nothing is known about the relatives of Bedil.

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 363.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

3. *Ibid.* Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqā'at-e-Dahli*, pp. 10-11. *Raqq'at-e-Bedil*, pp. 23, 59. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, p. 179. Khushgū says that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a خال of Bedil, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id was a son of Mīrzā 'Ibādullah. Bedil has twice addressed Mīrzā 'Ibādullah as a brother, and, from the language used, we learn he was older than Bedil. The author of *Majmū'a-e-Naghz* says that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was the elder brother of Bedil. And Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id was a nephew of Bedil. When everything is put together, we conclude that Mīrzā 'Ibādullah was a خال (cousin) of Bedil, and, in the *Safina-e-Khushgū* the scribe has erroneously written the word خال.

4. Qudratullah Qāsim, *Majmū'a-e-Naghz*, p. 179.

Having learnt about the daily routine and private life of Bedil, we should proceed further. In 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.), Bedil finished¹ his *Chahār 'Unsur* which he had been writing since 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.). This book is a dependable source for Bedil's life till 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) and beyond this we have to rely on different *Tazkiras*, Bedil's *Ruqq'āt* and *Qitt'āt* and other contemporary History Books.

In 1118 A.H. (1707 A.D.), there was again a great upheaval in Hindustān. The Great Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr died² at Ahmadnagar, in the Deccan, after a long reign of about fifty years, and at the climax of his power. A bloody war of succession soon ensued. Muḥammad Mu'azzam Bahādur Shāh, the second³ son of Aurangzeb, was ultimately victorious. Ā'zam Shāh and Kām Bakhsh, the other two⁴ living sons of Aurangzeb, were defeated⁵ one after the other in battles. At one time, during the War of Succession, when Shukrullah Khān II, Shākir Khān, and Karamullah 'Āqil Khān, all the three sons of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, were arrayed in Akbarābād against Ā'zam Shāh, Bedil was very much perturbed⁶ on their account; and when they were victorious, naturally he heaved⁷ a sigh of relief. But Bedil was very much grieved⁸ at the sad death of Ā'zam Shāh and his son Bedār Bakht, in the battlefield of Jajau. The accession of Bahādur Shāh was, however, greeted⁹ by Bedil in four chronograms, one of them being : *منظم در جهان*.

In 1120 A.H., to the utmost joy of Bedil, he was blessed with a son¹⁰ on the 1st of Rajab (Sept. 16, 1708), and on the night preceding Friday. The boy was named 'Abdul Khāliq. This happy occasion was

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahār 'Unsur*. The chronogram is :

دو تاریخ از حساب آورد بیرون که دخل شبه خون گشت و خطا رفت
نخست آئسونی از اعجاز پرداخت که از افراد هر عنصر فنا رفت
دوم در اجتماع چار عنصر نحوست بود چون رنگ از صفا رفت

The numerical value of عنصر and فنا is 410 and 131 respectively. Subtract 131 from 410 and multiply the result by 4. We get 1116. Again, the total value of *نخست آئسونی از اعجاز پرداخت* is 1640 (410 × 4). Subtract from it 524, the value of *نحوست*, and 1116 is the result. See Qārī, 'Abdullah Khān, *Addiyāt*, p. 174.

2. Sāqī, *Ma'ārif-e-'Ālamgīr*, p. 521.

3. Ibid., p. 534.

4. Ibid., pp. 596, 598.

5. Khān Khān, *Muntākhbat Lubāb*, II, pp. 590, 621, 625.

6. *Ruqq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 112.

7. Ibid., pp. 107-08.

8. Ibid., p. 114.

9. Ibid., pp. 107-08.

10. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 365.

celebrated¹ with festivities and rejoicings, and alms were liberally distributed to the poor. Bedil found out various chronograms,² and wrote letters of congratulations³ to friends. In those days Nawāb Shukrullah Khān II had gone away⁴ to the Deccan to subdue Prince Kām Bakhsh. The birth of his son had so much pleased Bedil that he communicated the happy news to the Nawāb in that distant country.

Bedil continued to add to his fame and popularity during the reign of Bahādur Shāh as well. The Emperor ordered⁵ Mun'im Khān Khānān, his Minister, on many occasions to request Bedil for writing Shāhnāma of the Mughul Dynasty. Mun'im Khān had known Bedil since a long time, and, therefore, made the request some five or six times in writing, but Mīrzā Bedil refused. The final reply of the poet was very stern and determined. He said, "If the Emperor insists, I am a Faqīr, I cannot quarrel with him. I will leave his kingdom, and shall proceed to Walāyat (Bukhārā)."

The Emperor conferred the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur⁶ on Chīn Qlīj Khān in 1119 A.H. (1708 A.D.) and appointed him the Subedār of Oudh. Bedil, therefore, could now see him very often as he had come to stay nearer. Bedil wrote a magnificent Qaṣida in praise of Khān Daurān⁷ beginning with this verse :

ناک عریست می نازد بد دور شوکت و شانش
یا تا وا نمایم اقتدار خان دورانش

[It is a long time since Destiny has been feeling proud about his dignity and splendour.

Come, so that I may disclose the power of Khān Daurān.]

As the title of Khān Daurān was conferred in 1119 A.H., this panegyric was composed when Bedil was over sixtyfive years of age. This fact shows that Bedil continued his creative activities unabated in spite of his old age. When in 1124 A.H. (1712-13 A.D.) Chīn Qlīj Khān's father,

1. *Khushgū*, in *Mā'arīf*, May 1942, p. 366.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qifḡāt*, p. 62. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Mr. Kitāb Khāna-e-Mā'arīf, Kābul, f. 1163. *Ant. Hadīya*, pp. 26-30. The chronograms are :

آدینه اول شهر رجب - مقبول فضل ایزدی - ذات حیا - فیاض بزرگ -
بالک جاه عظیم - سرجوش شراب ازلی - ذات واحد - جاء ظہور - آئینہ فیض قدس -
انتخاب آتہ .

The last two remind us of the chronograms قدس فیض and انتخاب giving the date of birth of Bedil himself.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 128.

4. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 621, 625. Kām Bakhsh was defeated in Haidarābād on 3rd Zilq'ada 1120 A.H. (January 14, 1709) and he succumbed to the wounds.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Mā'arīf*, July 1942.

6. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 582. Yūsuf Husain, *Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jah*, p. 51.

7. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qifḡāt*, p. 43.

Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Bahādur, died,¹ Bedil wrote a Qit'a² having the chronogram :

شاه باز عرش پرواز آمو ازو

[The falcon, which could fly to the Empyrean,
We are sad for him.]

In this very year Chān Qlij Khān was made Nizāmūl Mulk Bahādur Fateh Jang. His manṣab was raised to 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry. He has been addressed by Bedil in letters as Khān Daurān³ and also as Nizāmūl Mulk.⁴

One day in the house⁵ of Nizāmūl Mulk, when perhaps he had retired⁶ from life on account of the supremacy of Nawāb Zulifqār Khān in state affairs, Bedil found himself in a strange predicament. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who later on became famous for arranging the murder of Husain 'Alī Khān Bārha, came in and saw a Faqīr sitting with beard and moustaches entirely shaved. He enquired, "Who is this?" "Mīrzā Bedil," the Nawāb replied. Muḥammad Amīn Khān remarked, "Do you call this man a saint who shaves his beard?" At this Mīrzā Bedil warmed up and said, "I shave my own beard and do not scratch anybody's heart." Being inflamed, the Khān at once took his hand to his dagger. Bedil, who was a Hercules in strength, challenged the Khān with clenched fists. The Nawāb, however, intervened and saved the situation.

Bedil's relations with the sons of Nawāb Shurkullah also continued as sincere as ever. He wrote them letters and congratulated⁷ them on their victories. Once he addressed the three brothers in one letter beginning with the following verses⁸ of immortal value :

شکر امروز در بهار وفاق رنگ و بو و شگفتی بهم اند
ای خدا فضل کن که این گها همه لطف و عنایت و کرم اند

[Thank God that today, in the spring of concord,

Colour, smell, and freshness are found together,

O God, show graciousness as these flowers

Are all *Lutf* (kindness), '*Ināyat* (favour), and *Karam* (generosity).]

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmīra*, p. 35.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul, f. 1063.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 128.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 133, 134, 136.

5. Husain Dost, *Tazkir-e-Husainī*, p. 75. Qāsim, Quadratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Ḥisr*, p. 117.

6. Yūsuf Husain, *Nizāmūl Mulk Āraf Jah*, p. 51. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmīra*, p. 35.

7. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdarī Edition, *Qit'āt*, p. 45.

8. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 74.

Even the children of the family had grown intimate with Bedil. Whenever¹ Bedil took up pen and paper for writing something, and Mīr Mubārakullah, son of Mīr Shākir Khān, was seated near, innocently the boy would snatch away the paper, at which Bedil's heart was filled with pleasure. When he was away, Bedil felt his absence and the boy's endearing ways were brought to his mind. At one time Mīr Karamullah was in straitened circumstances,² and Bedil gave him 200 gold coins, which had been presented to him by Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān. When in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.), Mīr Karamullah Khān died,³ Bedil was extremely bereaved and he kept weeping for a long time. Mīr Karamullah Khān, we know, was a pupil of Bedil and wrote verse in Bedil's style. The Mīr left a Dīwān. Bedil once remarked⁴ that Mīr Karamullah had excelled him in writing poetry.

Now I give below, again one by one, the names of those poets who came in contact with Bedil during the reign of Bahādur Shāh.

1. *Ni'mat Khān 'Alī* (d. 1123/1711), the famous satirist of those days. Whenever 'Alī's name was mentioned by Bedil, he invariably said حاجی هجوی (Hājī, the satirist).

2. *Shaiikh Husain Shuhrat*⁵ (d. 1149/1736) was a friend of Bedil, and was known to him since the time when both of them were together in the service of A'zam Shāh. Shuhrat used to compete with Bedil in versification.

3. *Hājī Muḥammad Aslam Sālim*⁷ (d. 1119/1707) was a friend of Bedil, and used to write verse with him when both of them were in the service of A'zam Shāh. Sālim remained in the service of the Prince, and on his death arrived in Dehli and met Bedil. During the whole of his life Bedil never made a search for Dīwān of any contemporary poet, but he arranged especially for Sālim's Dīwān, and kept it with him for a few days.

4. *Sayyid Ja'far Zafallī*, the famous ribald poet of Bedil's times. Zafallī was in the service of Prince Kām Bakhsh in the Deccan and was dismissed for writing obscene poetry about his master.⁸ With the exception of Aurangzeb⁹ and Bedil none escaped his

1. *Ruqq'at-e-Bedil*, p. 125.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 201-02.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 44; *Siddiq Hasan*, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, p. 214.

8. Zafallī, Mīr Ja'far, *Kulliyāt-e-Zafallī*, pp. 29, 32. At page 24, he speaks about the reign of Bahādur Shāh.

9. Zafallī, *Kulliyāt* pp. 40, 43.

scurrilous remarks. One night Zafallī went to see Bedil with a *maṣnavī* in his praise. But as soon as Zafallī had recited the first hemistich :

چه عرفی چه فیضی به پیش تو بهش

[‘Urī and Faizī are quite insignificant before you]

Bedil gave him two gold coins, and dismissed him saying, “Thank you. I am an ordinary Faqīr. Besides, I cannot bear such like remarks about master poets.” *Khushgū* and others requested Bedil to let Zafallī recite the next hemistich, so that it might be known how *بهش* was rhymed, but Bedil did not agree. On another occasion² Zafallī came to see Bedil when he was deeply absorbed in thought. Zafallī enquired what line had been composed. When Bedil told :

لانه بر سینه داغ چون دارد

[Why has the tulip a scar at its breast ?]

Zafallī said, in his characteristic ribald way, “Why so much deep thought ? Say :

چوبکی سبز زیر کون دارد

[As it has a small twig under its anus].”

5. *Mir ‘Azmatullah Bekhabar Bilgrāmī*³ was a ṣūfī poet who frequently met Bedil. Once, as narrated by *Bekhabar* himself in his *Safīna*, Bedil recited his mystical verses only so long as *Bekhabar* was with him. *Bekhabar* praises Bedil for his good manners, elegant taste, and his zeal for mysticism.

6. *Mir ‘Abdul Jalīl Wasīl Bilgrāmī*,⁴ a ṣūfī poet. He and his son Sayyid Muḥammad had meetings with Bedil. To this line of Bedil

روز سوار شب کند اسپ چراغ پا

[The life of the rider is made miserable by the restive horse]

Mir Wasīl applied this مصرع (first line) :

غره مشوکه ابلق ایام رام تست

[Don’t feel proud that the piebald horse of Time has been tamed by you].

On another occasion, when a talk was going on about the mysticism of Bedil, the *Mir* inserted Sa’dī’s famous hemistich in his own verses :

دی کسی گفت سیرزا بیدل خوب گفت است در تصوف راز
مصرعی در جواب خواند خلیل بیدل از بی نشان چه گوید باز

1. *Mir Taqī Mir, Nikātuzh Shu‘arā*, p. 32 ; Qāim, Qīāmud Dīn, *Maḥẓan-e-Nikāt*, p. 13 ; *Khushgū*, in *Ma‘ārif*, May 1942, p. 366.

2. *Mir Hasan, Taḥkīr-e-Shu‘arā*, p. 72.

3. *Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, Taḥkīr-e-Jalwa-e-Khiṣr*, p. 96, footnote ; *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, 315 ; *Bekhabar, ‘Azmatullah, Safīna-e-Bekhabar*, Ms. f.

4. *Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 253 ; *Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī, Taḥkīr-e-Jalwa-e-Khiṣr*, p. 97 ; ‘Askri, Muḥammad, *Durarul Manṣūr*, Ms., f. 33.

[Yesterday someone said that Bedil.
Has beautifully explained the secrets of mysticism.
Jalil recited a hemistich in reply,
"How can Bedil tell about the Inscrutable."]

7. *Sayyid Ja'far Rūhī*¹ (d. 1154/1731) came to Shāh Jahānābā during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam and met Bedil.

8. *Ramī*² was a Hindu pupil of Bedil.

9. *'Umdatul Mulk Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām*³ (d. 1159/1746) was one of the pupils of Bedil.

10. *Hāfiz Muḥammad Jamāl Talāsh*⁴ (d. 1127/1715) was a pupil of Bedil and adopted the takhallus on his suggestion. He was seen with Bedil in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam. Bedil appreciated this couplet of Talāsh :

بروز عید هر شاه و گدا گم می کند خود را
تو رفتی بر سمند ناز و من از خویشتن رفتم

11. *Mīrzā Suhrā'ī Raunaq*⁵ Bedil recommended him to Mīrzā Na'im, the Bakhshī of Bahādur Shāh, and remarked that Mīrzā Suhrā'ī Raunaq wrote elegant prose and fluent verse.

12. *Qayyūm Khān Fidāl*,⁶ son of 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, was a poet and sent his verse for correction to Bedil.

13. *Mun'im Khān Mun'im*,⁷ the prime minister of Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam, and the author of *Ilhānāt-e-Mun'imī*, *Makāshfāt-e-Mun'imī*, etc. He was a friend of Bedil. It was he who requested Bedil, on behalf of Bahādur Shāh, to write the Shahnāma of the Mughals.

With his old and new pupils, friends, and acquaintances, Bedil was enjoying life when his dearly loved son 'Abdul Khāliq, who now walked holding his father's fingers in his hand, died on the morning of 9th of Rabi' II, 1123 A.H. (May 13, 1711) at the age of 2 years, 9 months, and 8 days. *Khushgū* says that Bedil displayed unusual self-composure⁹ at that time. With a perfectly composed state of mind, Bedil made arrangements for the burial of the dead body of his only son, and accompanied the bier up to the door. People came for condolence and wept bitterly, but he would silence them by saying, "Friends, how strange! It is my son who has died, why should you people weep?"

1. *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, 207; *Shiddiq Hasan*, *Shamā'-e-Anjuman*, 175.

2. *Safir Bilgrāmī*, *Tazkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khāir*, 97.

3. 'Alī Hasan Khān, *Baṣm-e-Sakhun*, 18; *Mushafī*, *'Iqd-e-Shirāzī*, 9; *Gardezi*, *Tazkira-e-Rekhta Goyān*, 2.

4. 'Alī Hasan Khān, *Sabḥ-e-Gulshan*, 90; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 46.

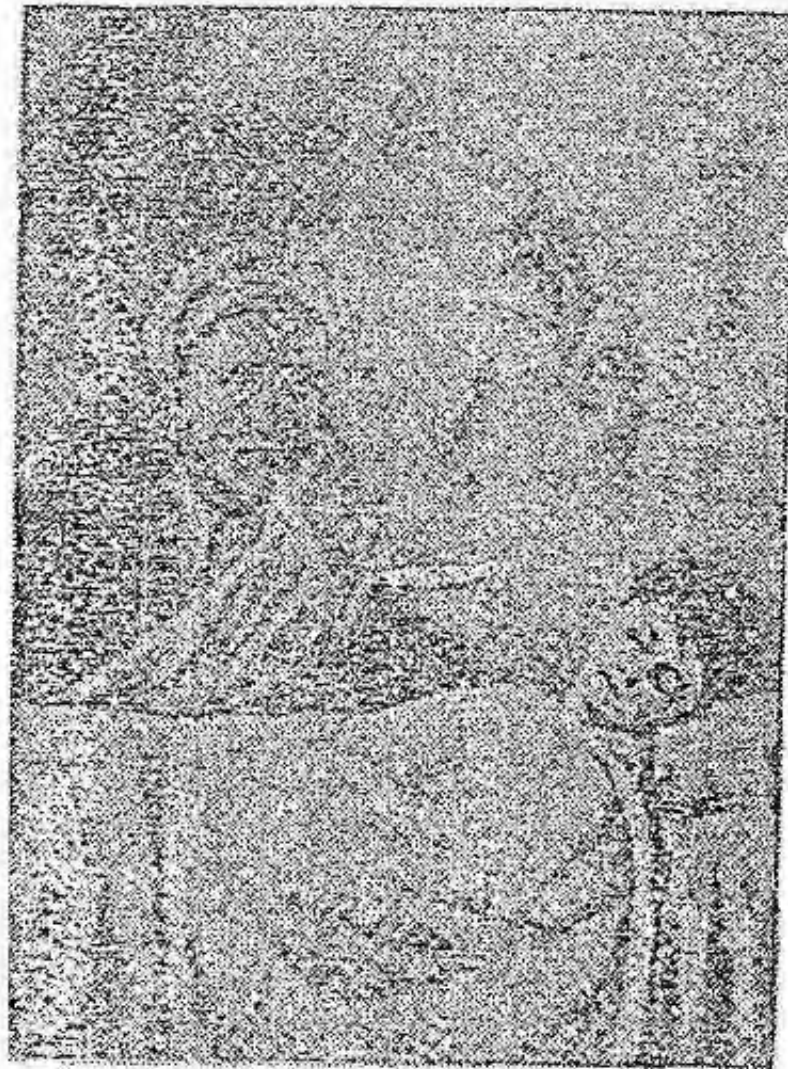
5. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 65.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 111.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 42; *Ghulām Husain*, *Siyarul Mutaakh-khira*, p. 8.

8. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Safdarī Edition*, *Qist'āt*, p. 82.

9. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 366, 367.



هر که دو قدم خرام میکاشت از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت
 یارب چه علم بوحشت افراشت؟ دست از دستم چگونه برداشت؟
 بی من بره' عدم چسان رفت؟

AN IMAGINARY PORTRAIT OF BEDIL IN THE LIGHT OF THE
 HEART-RENDING ELEGY HE WROTE ON THE DEATH OF
 HIS ONLY SON 'ABDUL KHALIQ.—(COURTESY—
 HADIYA, KABUL)

Although Bedil bore this grief with apparent tranquillity, the overpowering anguish, he felt on the occasion, can best be imagined by a perusal of the incomparable heart-rending elegy¹ which Bedil wrote on the death of his son. Only two بند (stanzas) out of the eighteen بند of the *مخمس* are given here:²

هیبت چه برق پریشان رفت کشتوب قیاسم بجان رفت
گرتابی بود و توان رفت طفلم ازین کهنه خاکندان رفت
بازی بازی بر آسمان رفت
هر که دو قدم خرام می گشت از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت
یارب چه علم بو حشت افراشت دست از دستم چگونہ برداشت
بی من به ره عدم چسان رفت

[Alas! What lightning has struck.

The grief of the Doomsday has afflicted my soul.

Whatever strength I had, has gone.

My child has left this world.

In a playful manner he went to the skies,

Whenever he walked a few paces,

He held my finger like a staff in his hands for support.

O God! What a standard has been held aloft terribly.

Why did he take away his hand from my hands?

How without me did he make the journey to the next world.]

There was yet another cataclysm which shook the foundations of the Empire. On 19th Muharram, 1124 A.H. (February 27, 1712) Bahādur Shāh, the Emperor, died suddenly at Lahore and his son Mu'izzud Dīn Jahāndār Shāh succeeded to the Peacock Throne after killing his three brothers in battles near Lahore.³ The enthronement

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms., Kitāb *Khāna-e-Ma'ārif*. Kābul, f. 1038. *Hadiya-e-Asaf*, pp. 24-25. At page 27 of *Hadiya* and folio 1100 of this *Kulliyat* quatrains have been given which Bedil wrote on the occasion when his son was suffering from small-pox. In the beginning he said:

هر جا اثر آبله کردست غلو معراج جمال گشته در خاک فرو
یارب از آتش تو امان ده همه را کاین شکل نژاد درخور پاست نه رو

[Wherever the poxes have thronged,

Beauty has completely vanished.

O God, save everyone from this danger.

This hateful blister is fit for the feet not for the face.]

And when the disease grew worse he wrote

ای چرخ بحق جوش این میخانه یعنی بخروش عائل و دیوانه
بیرونی نبری ز انجمن شمع مرا آتش نژدی میخانه پروانه

[O Fate, in view of the excitement in this tavern,

That is having regard to the lamentations of the wise and the mad,

Do not take my lamp out of the assembly, and

Do not set a moth's dwelling on fire.]

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 366-67.

3. *Khāfi Khān*, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 685-89. *Ghulām Hussain*, *Siyar al-Mulk al-Khāfirin*, pp. 8-12.

of the new Emperor was acclaimed by Bedil in a grand poem of which only the concluding verse, bearing four choice chronograms, is given below :

نص شرف شاه زمان نجم المہدی فیاض ملک
کشور کشا موت عصا گیتی ستار و جم نگین

[The text of nobility, the Lord of Time, the Guiding Star,
realm bestowing,

World conquering, having a staff like Moses, world reducing,
and with a ring like that of Jamshed.]

During Jahāndār Shāh's brief reign also Bedil commanded the same respect and popularity as before. We find Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the Wazīr of Jahāndār Shāh sending apples and pomegranates to Bedil from Lahore, for which favour the poet thanked him in a Qit'a.² But the reign of Jahāndār Shāh was marked by licentiousness³. The Emperor showed boundless partiality for his concubine, Lal Kanwar, and her relatives, who were all musicians. Bedil soon got disgusted and wrote two⁴ poems describing the shamelessness and immorality of those days, and in one of them he prophesied :

دور بی غیرت ندارد امتداد مال و مہ

[The shameless epoch cannot continue for years or months.]

The scales soon turned against Jahāndār Shāh, and on 15th Zul-Haj 1124 A.H. (January 13, 1713) he was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Siyar (son of 'Azimush Shāh) and was finally strangled to death. As the new Emperor had got the crown with the help of 'Abdullah Hasan 'Alī Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān, the renowned Barha Sayyid brothers, the former was made the Chief Minister, and the latter Amīrul Umarā.⁵

It was now the year 1124 A.H. (1713 A.D.) and from Bedil's point of view as an author, the year was very important, because in this year he finished⁶ his mystical Maṣnavī 'Irfān, which, Khushgū says,⁷ Bedil had begun about thirty years before. In a letter⁸ to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I, Bedil himself had intimated that both the

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul), f. 1045.

2. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 685.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ms. (Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul), f. 1031, and f. 1042.

4. Ghulām Husain, *Siyarul Mutakhalikhin*, pp. 15-18; Khāfi Khāfi, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 715-25.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Qārī, 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 174; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdarī Edition, 'Irfān. The chronogram is : هدیه ذوالجلال والاکرام.

7. Khushgū, in *Ka'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

8. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 69.

'*Irfān* and the *Chahār 'Unsur* were being written simultaneously. We know *Chahār 'Unsur* was begun in or about 1095 A.H., and if *Khushgū's* statement is kept in view, we can say, '*Irfān* was commenced in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.).

During the present regime also, Bedil's star was in ascendant. The Emperor, Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, at first inquired¹ about Bedil's health, and, on discovering that he would not seek an audience, the Emperor granted the poet Rs. 2,000 and one elephant. The money reached Bedil but, as none of his agents went to bring the elephant, the greedy imperial servants took it to their own use. Shād 'Azimābādī writes² in his *Nawā-e-Waṭan* that, the Emperor, Farrukh Siyar, copied Bedil's verses with his own hand in his anthology, and many times quoted Bedil in his letters and orders. Bedil, too, highly esteemed these regards of the Emperor and in a fragment³ congratulated him on his marriage and praised him for his justice. Quṭbūl Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān Barha, the Chief Minister of Farrukh Siyyar, who had the Maṣnab⁴ of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, twice or thrice sent for Bedil, and, as soon as he saw Bedil arrive, he used to leave his chair and run forward to receive the poet-saint. He would then embrace Bedil and would also leave his Maṣnab for him.⁵

Amīrul Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān, the younger Barha brother, who possessed great energy and resolution, had been on good terms with Bedil since a long time, and used to send his verses to him for correction.⁶ One day⁷ the Amīrul Umarā was riding through the bazar and Bedil also was going to some place. The Amīrul Umarā could not recognise Bedil, as he had shaved his beard and moustaches, and was wearing on his head the Susi cloth,⁸ which he sometimes used instead of a turban. Mīrzā Bedil also could not greet him on account of inattention. When the Amīrul Umarā got sure that it was no other than Bedil, he went to the poet's house, and took him away in a palanquin to his own residence. There he kept Bedil with him for two or three days, and gained much in his company. At the time of departure, the Amīrul Umarā made a present of Rs. 3,00,000 in cash

1. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

2. Shād 'Azimābādī, *Nawā-e-Waṭan*, p. 72.

3. *Kulīyat-e-Bedil*, Mss., Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, f. 1036. The opening verse is:

شہ فرخ سیر خورشید تحقیق جہان بدلت معراج آداب

4. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 728.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 367.

6. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 78.

7. Qāsim, *Majma'us-s-Naghaz*, p. 117.

8. A sacred thin-lined, chequered cloth from Susa a village in Africa. The value of the cloth was 10 Dīnar. See Yazdī, Nizāmud-Dīn Mahmūd, *Diwān-e-Albīra*, p. 201. Yāqūt, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, V, p. 173.

and kind to Bedil which he was good enough to accept. But after a while, to maintain the honour of his *Faqr* (mysticism), very wisely Bedil said to the Amīrul Umarā, "You know there is no room for these rich gifts in my humble cottage. I cannot find a depository for them better depository than your good-self. I, therefore, entrust everything to your care. Whenever I shall need them, I will request you for their return." Moreover, when the Amīrul Umarā was in the Deccan as viceroy, Mīrzā Bedil wrote to him a letter and made the following inquiries¹ in a charming manner :

ای نشئه پیمانہ قدرت پیچہ کاری ؟ بست اثری باپی تاراج خماری ؟
می در قدحی گل بسری جام بد ستی رنگ چمنی موج گلی جوش بهاری

[O, the ebriety of Nature's cup! how do you do?

Are you intoxicated with drink or after removing crop-sickness?

Have you wine in the cup, flowers on the head, and cup in the hand?

Are you the hue of the garden, a garland of flowers, or the bloom of the spring?]

An incident pertaining to Mīr Jumla, whose original name was Qāzī 'Abdullah Tūrānī, and who was a great confidant of Farrukh Siyar and held the Manṣab of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry,² has also been related. One day a scribe of Bedil came to him after seeing Mīr Jumla Tarkhān.³ The scribe said, "Just now Mīr Jumla was saying that he had today seen Mīrza Bedil, whom Quṭbul Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān had invited several times. Mīrzā Bedil, he added, appears to be a perfect man, but he has a defect; and then pointed to the beard and the moustaches." On hearing this, Bedil said, "Indeed, only a handful of hair, which he possesses and I do not, makes us differ," and then he recited his verse :

بیروت تافتنت گریه شانه هوس است بریش مرده شدن بزگمانه هوس است

As Bedil's fame as a poet had spread abroad, more and more pupils were coming to him. Many new poets, other than those mentioned above, eagerly sought Bedil's company. A brief and available account of all such lovers of poetry is given below.

1. *Anand Rām Mukhlis*¹ (1111-1164 A.H.) was a learned Hindu

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149; *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Safdari Edition, *Qit'at*, p. 54.

2. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 728-29.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May, 1942, p. 365.

4. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmira*, p. 425; Mukhlis, *A Page by Bun in the Library of Maulānā Mu'ammad Shāfi*, f. 1; Mukhlis, *Chamnistān*, p. 68; Mīr Taqī, *Nikātuḥ Shā'irā*, p. 8; Muṣṣafi *'Iqd-e-Surayyā*, p. 33; Šabāhud Dīn, *Bazm-e-Timuriya*, pp. 310-13.

and author of several works. In his youth he was a pupil of Bedil, and for a long time he got his verses corrected by him. Bedil granted an autograph copy of his *Dīwān* to Mukhlis. It has also been stated by Mukhlis that the last leaf of the *Dīwān* contained a portrait of Bedil.

2. *Muhammad Ahsan Sāmi*¹ of Dehli was a pupil of Bedil; but on his death became the pupil of *Shāikh Husain Shuhrat* and entirely forgot what he owed to Bedil.

3. *Gul Muhammad Ma'nīyāb* (معنی باب) *Khān Shā'ir*² (d. 1157/1744) distinguished himself amongst the pupils of Bedil. After the death of Bedil, *Shā'ir* was the most prominent poet in *Shāh Jahānābād*. Bedil loved him very much and granted him a sword and a staff which he kept with him for a long time.

4. *Shāh-e-Faṣīḥ Afṣāh*³ (d. 1192/1778). He was a pupil of Bedil. His Persian *Dīwān* smacks of mysticism like that of his teacher.

5. *Mirzā Muḥsin Zulfadr*⁴ (d. in the reign of Farrukh Siyar). This poet used to compete with Bedil in versifying since his childhood. *Mirzā Muḥsin* was originally in the service of Prince *Shujā'*, son of *Shāh Jahān*. *Khushgū* saw this poet in his extreme old age, when he was over ninety, in the company of Bedil. It means Bedil saw this poet in Patna, when *Shujā'* was making preparations for winning the crown for himself, and when Bedil also happened to be with the army of *Shujā'*.

6. *Mirzā Mubārakullah Irālat Khān Wazīh*⁵ (d. 1128/1715-16) was a pupil of Bedil. Anand Rām Mukhlis saw him with Bedil during the reign of Farrukh Siyar.

7. *Sirājad Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū*⁶ himself says that he saw Bedil twice in the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyyar. He admits that he derived much benefit in Bedil's company. Dargāh Qulī Khān says that *Khān Ārzū* called himself a pupil of Bedil.

8. *Mir Abul Faiz Mast*⁷ used to get his verses corrected by Bedil. After the death of Bedil he became a pupil of *Shāikh Husain Shuhrat*.

9. *Mir Muhammad Hāshim Jur'āt Mūsī Khān*⁸ was in the service

1. Sprenger, I, p. 156; Siddiq Hasan, *Roz-e-Rauhan*, p. 284; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 45.

2. Siddiq Hasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, p. 233; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 23; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 45.

3. Sprenger, I, p. 197; 'Alī Luṭfī Mirzā, *Gulshan-e-Hind*, p. 30; Mir Hasan, *Tazkira-e-Shu'arā-e-Urdū*, p. 133.

4. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, July 1942, p. 45; Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 417.

5. Mukhlis, Anand Rām. *Mir'at-ul-Iṭtilāḥ*, Ms., f. 122-A; Qatil, *Chahār Sherbat*, p. 67; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 146-47.

6. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un-Nafāis*, Ms., f. 56-A; Dargāh Qulī Khān, *Muraqqa'-e-Dehli*, pp. 44-45.

7. 'Alī Hasan, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, pp. 402-03.

8. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 237; Siddiq Hasan, *Shama'-e-Anjuman*, p. 107.

of Amīr al-Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān and came with him from the Deccan to Dehlī in 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.). On that occasion he met Mīrzā Bedil and Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Wāstī Bilgrāmī.

10. *Nāẓim Khān*,¹ the author of *Tārīkh Farrukh Shāhī*, died in the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. Once he invited Bedil to dinner. In the course of table-talk, Nāẓim Khān told Mīrzā Bedil that in the following verse he had employed too fresh a colloquialism :

تو نکری کہ دم از قرمی زند غلط است به موی کلس چینی تمدنی بالند

[The rich man, who talks of mysticism, is false, because

A rug is not woven out of the hair appearing in porcelain.]

Mīrzā Bedil replied that he was not such a fool as not to understand the taunt implied. The Khān said again that the colloquialism in question had undoubtedly been invented by Bedil. At this Bedil said, "From amongst the classical poets, whom would you regard a better authority than 'Asjadī, Farrukhī, Mu'izzī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Khwāja Salmān and other master poets, all of whom use the idiom تمد بانی?" Nāẓim Khān was surprised and ejaculated, "By God, one, who has misgivings about Bedil's mastery of the language, is indeed an infidel." Nāẓim Khān thenceforward always had great respect for Bedil. Khushgū says that everyone who, like Nāẓim Khān, raised objections about the authenticity of the idioms used by Bedil, was similarly silenced by him during his lifetime. On the other hand, Khushgū adds, Shāh Sa'd-ullah Gulshan often remarked that Bedil's rank in the literary world was so high that after a century or two the literateurs and philologists would quote Bedil as an authority.

I have so far given an account of those poets only about whom there are hints or unambiguous assertions to the effect that they came in contact with Bedil at some definite period of his life. There is, nevertheless, quite a good number of such poets, both pupils and friends about whom the Tazkira-writers do not give sufficient details, and I, therefore, cannot say definitely when they had intercourse with Bedil. These are² Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Rāj (d. 1159/1737) of Siālkot, Hakīm Chand Nudrat of Lahore, Amānat Rām Amānat, Mehr 'Alī Bekas (a Qazizāda of Mathura),³ Mīr Muḥammad Ashraf Hasrat (an intelligent poet amongst the pupils of Bedil), Sayyid Abul Faiz Ma'nī of Shāh Jahānābād (a mystic poet), Sri Gopal Tamiz (d. 1147/1734), Sayyid Murtaẓa Qūnī, Mīr Muḥammad

1. Khushgū, in *Mā'arif*, May 1942, p. 369; July 1942, p. 44.

2. Sprenger, I, pp. 113, 122, 158; Khushgū, in *Mā'arif*, July, 1942, pp. 45-49; Siddiq Hasan, *Shama-e-Anjuman*, p. 170; Ali Hasan, *Subi-e-Gulshan*, pp. 37, 74, 100, 195, 431, 512; Siddiq Hasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, pp. 136, 637; Husain Dost, *Tazkira-e-Husaini* p. 48; 'Abdul Jabbar Khān, *Tazkira-e-Ma'būb-uz-Zamān*, II, p. 1014; Azād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, p. 243.

3. Perhaps Bekas met Bedil when he lived in Mathura.

Ma'sūm Wijdān, Muḥammad Panāh Kāmīl (Qābil), 'Abdul 'Azīz Ijād (perhaps alive till 1136/1723), Mīrzā Nadir-uz-Zamān Faṣḥ, and 'Ismatullah Qābil. Ghulām Nabī ('Abdullah?) Waḥdat¹ was a contemporary of Bedil and followed him in writing prose and verse. Khwāja 'Abdullah Samī² (d. 1150/1737) belonged to Lahore and had meetings with Bedil in Shāh Jahānābād. Mīr Rāzī Waḥdat was a friend of Bedil and once sent him a ḥuqqa.³ And Qāzī 'Abdur Raḥīm once wrote prose and verse in praise of Bedil and Bedil thanked⁴ him in a letter. The Qāzī Ṣāhib appears to be the illustrious father of Shāh Waliullah of Dehli.

We have seen how the poets, the nobles having the Manṣab of 7,000, and even the Emperors paid homage to our poet. Rarely would a genius command so much respect in his lifetime. The secret of all this lies, in the words⁵ of Khushgū, in Bedil's versatility, good manners, magnanimity, balanced temperament, cheerfulness, keenness of intellect, quickness of understanding, his noble etiquette, his superiority as a conversationalist, his generous dealings with others, and other virtues. His attainments as a scholar and as a poet, which have again been counted⁶ by Khushgū, contributed towards this greatness. Bedil was interested in Metaphysics, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. He was well acquainted with the science of Medicine, Astrology, Geomancy (رمل), Arithmancy (حساب), History, and Music. He knew the whole story of *Mahābhārat* by heart. His epistolary style was unequalled, of which his *Ruq'āt* are the best specimen. His qualities as a prose-writer are self-evident. Moreover, he was such a fertile and prolific writer that he could compose 500 verses in a day.

Above all, Bedil's contemporaries were very much impressed by his mysticism. Khushgū says that Bedil had not only a thorough knowledge of mysticism but also practised it completely, and in this respect he was the Junaid and Bāyazīd of his time. Khushgū adds that most of the problems of mysticism, which Rūmī expressed in his *Masnāwī* and Ibn al-'Arabī in his *Jawāb*, were stated again by Bedil, most lucidly and with fresh similes; and Bedil's regard for the Unity of God was so intense that, even while abusing others, he did not let the string of Unity slip from his hands.⁷ Mukhlis calls Bedil a perfect gnostic and says that Bedil regarded mystical knowledge

1. Siddiq Hasan, *Roz-e-Raushan*, p. 733.

2. 'Alī Hasan, *Subh-e-Gulshan*, p. 195.

3. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, p. 47.

4. Ibid., p. 112. Also, Raḥīm Bakhsḥ, *Hayāt-e-Walt*, pp. 111, 113, 149.

5. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 370-71.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 368.

as the best and profoundest of all sciences.¹ Sher Khān Lodhī, another contemporary, also eulogises² Bedil for his mysticism. Similarly, Khān Ārzū, too, pays a warm tribute³ to Bedil as a mystic poet. Even Muhammad Afzal Sarkhūsh, his rival, has said :⁴

بدل در فکر و ترکیب بادشاه وقت خود است

[Bedil is the sovereign of his time, in point of mysticism and trust in God.]

Also the nobles at the court regarded⁵ Bedil as a saint. Thus Bedil had combined in his person numerous virtues and attainments, which surprised his contemporaries, whether high or low, and they were irresistibly drawn towards him.

Bedil's fame was not confined to Shāh Jahānābād only. Even in his lifetime it reached the farthest⁶ corners of Hindustān, crossed the north-western border and reached Afghānistān and Central Asia, where it still persists. For some of the best and most authentic manuscript⁷ copies of the works and Kulliyat of Bedil we have now to look to Kish (Shahr-e-Sabz), Bukhārā, and Kābul. In those countries many poets sprang up who took pride in imitating Bedil. In lands beyond the Oxus, Akmal Khuqandī, Adā Samarqandī, and Sādiq Munshī made themselves prominent⁸ in this respect. In Afghānistān, 'Ājiz Afghān,⁹ the court poet of Tīmūr Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, copied the style of Bedil, in prose and verse, in form as well as in spirit, so thoroughly that he has been

1. Mukhlis, *The Page Written in His Hand*, Mss. f. 1.

2. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 385.

3. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Mss. f. 56.

4. Sarkhūsh, Muhammad Afzal, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 14, footnote.

5. For instance Nizāmūl Mulk.

6. Mushafī Ghulām Hamdānī, *Iqd-e-Surrayyā*, p. 16.

7. (a) *In Kābul Museum :*

Ms. No. 202, *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, copied in 1147 A.H. (only fourteen years after the death of Bedil) in Kish, Shahr-e-Sabz, by the scribe Muhammad Yūnus Khwāja, son of Bābā Khwāja Kishī.

Ms. No. 33, *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, copied in 1236 A.H. by Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq of Bukhārā. It has *Ruqq'āt*, *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, *Irṣān*, *Fawā'id-e-Khamsah*, *Gudrī Nāma*, *Surna-e-I'tibār*, *Bahāristān-e-Janūn*, *Hujūm-e-Hairat*, *Naghma-e-Wahdat* and *Tilism-e-Hairat*. Because it gives the pamphlets separately, it is very important.

(b) *In Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul :*

Mss. No. 503/9, *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, written in Kish in 1242 A.H. by 'Abdul Luṭf.

Mss. No. 504/9, *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, written in Kābul in 1309 A.H. by Ghulām Husain scribe.

8. *Tuhfatul Ashbāh fī Taṣṣīratul Ashbāh*, pp. 116-17, 41-42, 162-64.

9. *Kābul Magazine*, August to November 1937 A.D.

called Bedil II. Similarly, we find Sardār Mehr Dīl Khān Mashriq¹ (1212-1271 A.H.) who was a notable poet from this point of view. The cause² of the popularity of Bedil, in Afghānistān and Transoxiana, are his mysticism, his dynamic philosophy of life and his perfect Indian style (سبک هندی).

Having considered in brief why Bedil was regarded by his contemporaries, within Hindustān and outside it, with the utmost esteem, love, and respect, we should now pass on to our narrative. Bedil was now a very old man. In a letter to someone in Bihār, while incidentally expressing his hidden love for that province, he wrote that his faculties had collapsed, and his senses had almost ceased to function on account of old age.³ To Mīr Shākir Khān he wrote :⁴

در محاسبه شمار انفس غفلتی راه یافته که زندگی بسر آمده مگر به ملک
اعاده پیوستن است یا قافله بیابان مرگ عمر راه مقصد عدم گم کرده که بدرقه
نفس را تاگزیرست بر تنگنای دروازه لب نشستن -

[In counting the (fixed) number of breaths, some mistake has occurred, and, therefore, the life, which had ended, has started anew. Or the caravan of age has lost the way to Non-existence and inevitably the escort of breath has stopped on the narrow passage of lips.]

These remarks about his extreme old age were made by Bedil when he was suffering from fever. He wrote :⁵

زبان نبض این تب زده همچنان حرکت انشائی تهیه دعاست
[The tongue of the pulse of this feverish person moves continuously in prayer.]

In a letter⁶ to Nizāmūl Mulk, Bedil intimated that he had been suffering from dysentery for full three months ; and in a letter⁷ to Shukrullah Khān II, he mentioned several other ailments, and also expressed his intense wish that the question of his life and death should be decided one way or the other. This repeated indisposition and these feelings of dejection and disgust foretold that Bedil's end was drawing near. He had shown his preparedness⁸ for death even in 1123 A.H. (1711-12 A.D.) when in the courtyard of his house he raised a quadrangular mound for his tomb.

1. *Kābul Magazine*, November 1937 A.D.

2. *Ibid*, July 1937, pp. 91-93.

3. *Ruq'at-i-Bedil*, p. 138.

4. *Ibid*, p. 17.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid*, p. 131.

7. *Ibid*, p. 132.

8. *Khusbū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 373.

On the one hand he had shown readiness and rather impatient to greet death cheerfully, and, on the other, he was anxious that his works, the fruit of his life-long labour, should have a safe voyage in the world. He got his *Kulliyāt*, comprising all of his works in prose and verse, and having in all 99,000 couplets, written in his lifetime. It had four hemistiches in one line, and weighed fourteen seers.² When it was complete, it was weighed against precious metals and jewels which were given in charity. On that occasion Bedil said, "The Indians weigh their children against precious things and give alms to avert disaster. As Bedil's issues are only these works, he prays to God for their safety and hopes the prayer will be granted."

Bedil was in this way getting fully prepared for death when the political atmosphere darkened again. Relations between Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor, and his Chief Minister and the Amir Umarā grew strained, because the claims of the Sayyid Brothers had become too preposterous to be acceded to by the Emperor, who however, tried several times to patch up the differences. Ultimately the Sayyid Brothers imprisoned Farrukh Siyar in the fort on 9th Rabi' II, 1131 A.H. (March 1, 1719). A needle was passed through his eyes, but it is reported he could still see. When two months later he tried to escape, he was strangled to death.³ As Farrukh Siyar was very popular with the common people on account of his profuseness and liberality, there was deep and universal sorrow at his cruel end, and Bedil wrote the following bitter chronogram⁵ on the occasion :

دیدي که چه با شاه گرامی کردند صد جور و جفا ز راه خامی کردند
تاریخ چو از خرد بچشم فرمود سادات بوی نمک حرامی کردند

[Did you see how they behaved towards the noble Emperor?
They inflicted on him a hundred thousand cruelties on account of folly.

When I asked Wisdom for the date, it replied,
'The Sayyids have been ungrateful to him.'

The chronogram was very apt, and, therefore, soon got wind. The political atmosphere being overcast with faithlessness, Bedil thought:

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374.

2. Husain Dost says in his *Taḡhira-e-Husaini*, written in 1163 A. H., that the *Kulliyat* weighed eleven seers. Sarkhush said much earlier that he weighed the works of Bedil which were more than fifteen seers. Husain Dost, therefore, speaks of some *Kulliyāt* which did not contain all the works of Bedil. See *Taḡhira-e-Husaini* pp. 74, 374; *Kalimātush Shu'ara*, p. 14.

3. Ghulam Husain, *Siyarul Muta'akkhkhira*, pp. 20, 39-40; Khāfi Khān, *Muntāḥabul Luḡab*, II, pp. 794-820.

4. Ghulam Husain, *Siyarul Muta'akkhkhira*, p. 42.

5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Saru-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

it advisable to seek refuge in some distant place. He fled to Lahore where Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, the Viceroy of the Panjāb, treated him with the utmost respect.¹

In the meantime Rafī'ud Darajāt, and, at his sudden collapse, Rafī'ud Daula were crowned as Emperors. As Rafī'ud Daula, too, soon passed away, the King-maker Sayyid Brothers enthroned Roshan Akhtar, with the title of Muḥammad Shāh on 15th Zulqā'da 1131 A.H. (September 29, 1719). In the Deccan, Nizāmul Mulk was adding to his power against Amīrul Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān and was defying his orders. Amīrul Umarā, therefore, proceeded towards the Deccan, with Muḥammad Shāh, to chastise Nizāmul Mulk but was killed in the way on 6th Zul Hijja, 1132 A.H. (October 9, 1720). Quṭbul Mulk made desperate efforts to retain his position and crowned another Emperor Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, but was defeated and then arrested and imprisoned.²

When the ascendancy of the Sayyids was no more, Bedil returned³ to Shāh Jahānābād. As Husain 'Alī Khān was killed in Zul Hijja 1132 A.H. (October 1720), Bedil must have returned there in Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). As Bedil had gone to Lahore about the middle of 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), we can say that he was with Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān for about a year and a half. On his return to Dehli, Bedil wrote⁴ in a letter to Shukrullah Khān II :

واقعہ سرگذشت بیدل بیرون از تحریر و تقریر است

[The adventure of Bedil baffles description.]

And in a letter to Nizāmul Mulk, after expressing gratification at the removal of difficulties which surrounded the grand Nawāb, Bedil wrote⁵ :

برین نفس پرور اشغال دعا نیز سانچہ غریبی پیش آمد اما گذشت آنچه گذشت

[This well-wisher also was placed in a trying position but let the past alone.]

These expressions definitely relate to Bedil's historic chronogram and his subsequent flight to Lahore. The wording points out that as the Sayyids tried to take revenge, Bedil sought refuge in flight. Bedil was, therefore, not unnecessarily afraid as Āzād Bilgrāmī implies⁶ :

سرزا متوحش گردیده به لاہور رفت

[Mīrzā Bedil was afraid and went to Lahore]

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

2. Ghulām Husain, *Siyarul Muta'akkhiḥin*, pp. 41-46; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, pp. 816-933; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 154-170; Rām (Bedil's pupil), *Majma'ut Tawārīkh*, Ms. The book deals with Farrukh Siyar and the Sayyids.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150; Khushgū, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 372.

4. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 133.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

6. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

It was in the beginning of 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) that Nizāmūl Mulk established¹ himself in the Deccan, and he then invited Bedil to that Peninsula. But Bedil, who had throughout led a life of contentment, did not accept this invitation and wrote in reply² :

دنیا اگر دهند نه جتیم زجای خویش

من بسته ام حنای قناعت به پای خویش

[If they give me the entire world, I would not budge a jot from my place, for

I have applied the henna of contentment to my feet.]

This appears to be the last letter of Bedil, and it has not been included in the collection of his letters. After this his final illness seems to have overtaken him, and it appears that he had come from Lahore simply to die in Shāh Jahānābād.

He was down with typhoid fever³ towards the end of Muharram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). After four or five days the fever disappeared, and, thinking that he had recovered, Bedil took a bath on the 2nd of Šafar 1133 A.H. (December 3, 1720). On Wednesday the 3rd of Šafar there was a relapse of fever which remained for the whole of the night. Nawāb Ghairat Khān Bāhādur,⁴ Šalābat Jang, who was a friend of Bedil, was with him for the whole of that night. Sometimes Bedil swooned, and then came to himself. When he regained senses, he would burst into laughter involuntarily. The hopes of recovery waned at last, and at dawn the condition changed horribly. It⁵ was Thursday, the 4th of Šafar 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720 A.D.) when six *gharis* had passed after sunrise, that Bedil's soul winged its way to Heaven. His sacred remains were buried in the courtyard of his

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 169, 176.

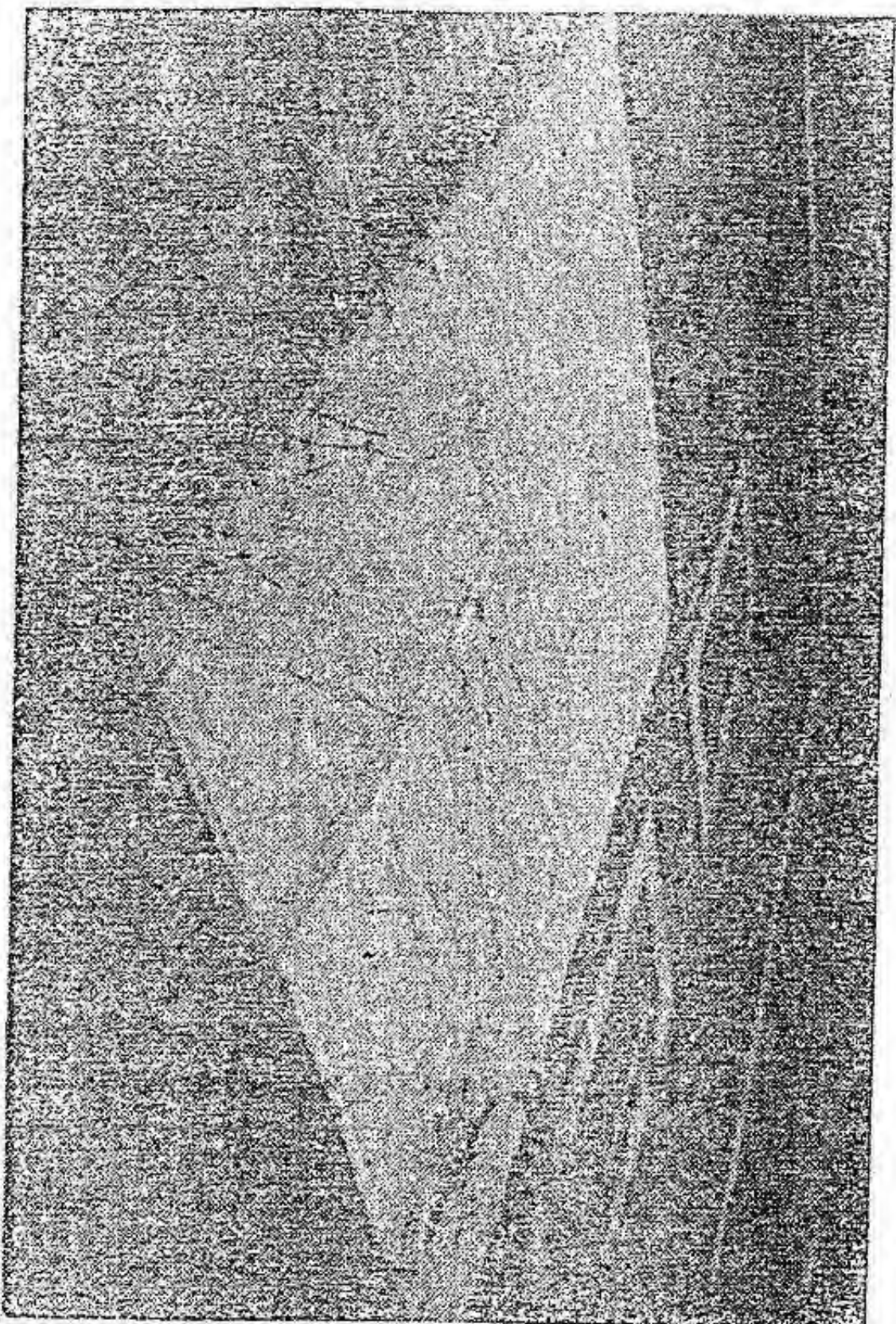
2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 153; Husaīn Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms. f. 205.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 372; Husaīn Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-Ishq*, Ms. f. 206-b.

4. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabat Lubāb*, II, p. 901. This appears to be the same Ghairat Khān who informed Qutbūl Mulk, Hāsan 'Alī Khān, of the murder at Tora of Husaīn 'Alī Khān, Amīrūl Umārā.

5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, at page 150 of *Sarw-e-Āzād*, says that Bedil died on Šafar 3, 1133 A.D. This date is wrong. Khushgū, for his date of the 4th Šafar, has strangely been supported by a colophon given at f. 126 of the Manuscript *Rubā'iyāt* of Bedil, completed on 9th Rabi'ī, 1133 A.H. There the scribe says that when he was writing the Manuscript in question, death of Bedil occurred on Thursday, 4th Šafar 1133 A.H. For this Colophon see Rieu, *The Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 212-A.

Moreover in *The Benares Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, under No. 381; in *The Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, under No. 1676; and in *The Bihar Library Catalogue*, volume No. 1, under No. 410, too, the date of Bedil's death is 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. Khān Ārzū also gives this date in his *Majma'us Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56.



BEDIL'S TOMB (ii)
(Courtesy Āqā-c-Sarwar Khān-c-Coyā)

house, on the bank of the river Jamna, at the place specified by himself. Khushgū composed the following chronogram:²

افسوس که بیدل از جهان روی نهفت و آن جوهر پاک در ته خاک پخت
خوشگو چو ز غفل کرد تاریخ سوال از عالم رفت میرزا بیدل گفت

[Sorry ! Bedil concealed his face from this world,

That pure essence slept under the earth,

When Khushgū asked the Intellect for the chronogram,

It said, 'Mīrzā Bedil departed from this world']

When the dead body of Bedil was removed from his bed, his last compositions,³ a Rubā'ī and a ghazal, written in Bedil's own hand, were found from under his pillow. The Rubā'ī is:

بیدل کف و سیاه پوشی نشوی تشویش گلوئی نوحه گویی نشوی
بر خاک ببرد همچنان رو برباد مرگت سبک است بار دوشی نشوی

[Bedil, don't be a black spot for the mourner, a trouble for his parched throat,

Die on the dust, and in the same manner be carried away by the winds. Your death is light. Don't be a burden for any shoulder.]

What a noble sentiment ! The ghazal had eleven couplets. Only the opening verse is given below :

به شبی صبح این گلستان نشاند جوش غبار خود را
عرق چو سیلاب از جبین رفت و ما نکردیم کار خود را

[In the morning this garden shed the excitement of its dust in the form of dew.

(In our case) the perspiration flowed from the forehead like a torrent, but we did not perform our duty.]

The glorious rhyme of the ghazal, the perfect mastery with which the idioms and phrases are handled, and the profoundness of the truths

1. Husain Quli Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Ms. f. 206-b. In this *Tazkira*, too, the date of Bedil's death is Thursday 4th Šafar 1133 A.H.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374. In *Ma'ārif* for this month as well as for July 1942, we learn from Khushgū that Khān Arzū's chronogram was: عبدالتادر بیدل رفت; and San'at's was ختم کلام. The last two are numerically wrong, and I have failed to find out anything more about them. Āzād Bilgrāmī's chronogram:

سرو سر کرده ارباب سخن از غم آباد جهان خرم رفت
رفت تاریخ و فاش آزاد میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت

given at page 153 of his *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, though numerically correct, is the same as that of Khushgū. It is, however, worth consideration that *Safina-e-Khushgū* has not been included amongst the sources of *Khazāna-e-'Āmira*, which was compiled in 1171 A.H. See its pages 3 and 7.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, pp. 373-74.

expressed, especially the emphasis laid on the development of Self,¹ prove that Bedil's extraordinary mental powers kept functioning properly right up to the last moments of his life. *Khushgū* says that,² on the third² day after the death of Bedil, he saw with his own eyes the paper, having the *Rubā'ī* and the *ghazal*, in the hands of *Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd* son of *Mīrzā 'Ibādullah*.

For a long time after the demise of Bedil, his death anniversaries were celebrated by his pupils and the other poets of *Shāh Jahānābād*. *Khān Ārzū*, who granted special interviews³ to people on each anniversary, as he considered himself to be a pupil of Bedil, gives⁴ 4th *Ṣafar* as the date of these celebrations. But *Dargāh Qulī Khān*—an assistant of *Nizām-ul Mulk Aṣif Jāh*—who visited⁵ *Dehlī* in 1151 A.H., during the invasion of *Nādir Shāh*, says that the 'Urs was celebrated⁶ on the 3rd *Ṣafar*. But as *Khān Ārzū* was himself one of the celebrators and the date of Bedil's death is also 4th *Ṣafar*, we cannot agree with *Dargāh Qulī Khān*. It is just possible that as the poets of the Metropolis regarded the 'Urs a most solemn occasion, initial activities began on the 3rd *Ṣafar* and the actual 'Urs was celebrated on the 4th.

On that day⁷ illuminations were made by the people and food was distributed among the poor. The heavy staff of Bedil, which a strong man could carry with difficulty, even with both of his hands, was placed by the side of his tomb. The *Kullīyāt* also was placed near by. It had the following quatrain in the beginning :

1. Read the following couplets of the *ghazal* :

به خویش گر چشم بی کشودی چو موج دریا گره نبودی
چه سحر کرد آرزوی گوهر که غنچه کردی بهار خود را
تو شخص آزاد پریشانی قیامت است اینکه غنچه سانی
فزود خود داربت به رنگی که سنگ کردی شرار خود را

[Had you opened eyes to your own self, you would not have been a knot, like a wave on the surface of river.

Your desire for becoming a pea I was such a magic, that you changed your spring into a bud.

You are Freedom personified. Woe betide if you remain a bud.

Your self-respect has developed in such a way that you changed your spark into a stone.]

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 373.

3. *Dargāh Qulī Khān*, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 44-45.

4. *Khān Ārzū*, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56.

5. *Dargāh Qulī Khān Muraqqa'*, 1; *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 223.

6. *Dargāh Qulī Khān*, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11.

7. *Khān Ārzū*, *Majma'un Nafāis*, Ms. f. 56; *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Khazāna-e-Āmirā*, p. 153; *Dargāh Qulī Khān*, *Muraqqa'*, pp. 10-11, 42, 44-45; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May and July 1942, p. 374; *Mukhlis*, *The Paper Written by Mukhlis*, Ms. f. 1.

ای دینہ طبع تو ارشاد پذیر در کتب فوائد نه نمائی تقصیر
مجموعه فکر ما صلاهی عام است سوری کن و سمت تسلی بر گیر

[Your nature readily accepts advice, therefore,
Don't fail in deriving benefit.
The collection of our thoughts is open to all.
Go through it and satisfy yourself.]

Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir, a distinguished pupil of Bedil, who helped the poet's relatives after his death, took prominent part in the celebrations. Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā, another favourite pupil of Bedil, was also very enthusiastic about the 'Urs. All the pupils and the other poets used to sit round the tomb, and a ceremonial opening of the proceedings was made by reciting a ghazal from Bedil's Kulliyāt. Then Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir recited his ghazal, as he had the foremost position among the poets of Shāh Jahānābād. Then other poets followed according to the descending order of their literary talents. It was always a very nice poetical symposium and all the participators experienced thrills of joy. Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id, being the son of a cousin of Bedil and therefore his nephew, was regarded as the spiritual successor (سجاده نشین) of the poet. He, therefore, made arrangements for entertaining the guests and for light on the occasion of the 'Urs. He was not a poet, but he made his living by selling the different electuaries (معاجین) and pills invented by Bedil, which had a good sale in Shāh Jahānābād.

Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā died in 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.) but Ma'nīyāb Khān Shā'ir lived till 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.). Still there is evidence in support of the fact that the death anniversaries of Bedil continued to be celebrated even afterwards. Mīr 'Abdul Walī 'Uzlat—a poet from Sūrat—arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on 20th Jumada I, 1164 A.H.² He took part in the 'Urs celebrations. It is clear that he could not do so before 4th Ṣafar, 1165 A.H. He says³ all the poets of Shāh Jahānābād had gathered on the occasion, and as usual they had brought the Kulliyāt of Bedil, which they opened in the meeting. Mīr 'Abdul Walī 'Uzlat wanted to find out if Bedil knew about their arrival. He opened the Kulliyāt and found the following Maṭla' in the beginning of the first page :

چه مقدار خون در عدم خورده باشم که بر خاکم آئی و من مرده باشم

[How grieved I feel in the other world,
When you come to my tomb and I am dead.]

1. Khushgū, in Ma'ārif, July 1942, pp. 44, 47.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād, p. 236.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Khazāna-e-'Āmir, p. 153.

All those present saw this miracle (کرامت) of Bedil. The event narrated by 'Uzlat has been recorded by Āzād Bilgrāmī in his *Khazāna-e-Āmīra*, which was compiled¹ in 1171 A.H., and, while speaking about the Kulliyāt, which remained at the tomb of Bedil, Āzād says that he bought² a copy of the *ghazliyyāt* written in that Kulliyāt. This shows that the celebrations had continued till 1171 A.H., i.e. at least for thirty-eight years after the death of Bedil. The pupils of Bedil died one by one. We do not know when the death of Mirzā Muḥammad Sa'id, the Sajjāda Nashīn (spiritual successor) of Bedil took place, but it is certain that at his death, activities with regard to the 'Urs must have, at least, considerably slackened, if not altogether stopped dead. Ghulām Hamdānī Muṣṭafī compiled his *Tazkira*, *Iqd-e-Surayyā*, in 1199 A.H.³ He says that at that time Bedil's house, which had the tomb of Bedil in its compound, was absolutely in a dilapidated condition.⁴ It means that long since this date the 'Urs had ceased to be celebrated. After this we learn about the death anniversaries of Bedil from Kabul where even in 1370 A.H. (1951 A.D.), the celebrations were held with usual solemnity in the house of Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī, a professor of Persian in Kabul University, and eminent poets and scholars, like Ṣūfī Betāb, Khaliḷullah Khān Khalilī, Dr. Ans, and Sarwar-e-Goyā participated.⁵

Owing to constant neglect, the tomb of this great poet became unknown. We have seen above that when the twelfth century of the Hijra closed, Bedil's house was in a dilapidated condition. As there was none to look after the tomb, it must have disappeared, owing to the wear and tear of time, during the first three or four decades⁶ of the thirteenth century of the Hijra. Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, author of several works about Dehlī, wrote⁷ to me that when he translated the *Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī*, by Nawāb Dargah Qulī Khān, into Urdu, he mentioned therein that the tomb of Bedil was unknown. On reading it Maulānā Shāh Sulaimān Sāhib Phulwārī wrote to him that the tomb was in front of the Old Fort and in the vicinity of the tomb of Ḥazrat Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān. The Maulānā went there. No vestige of the tomb was left, but he says he discovered the site. A request was then made to the present Nizām Aṣif Jāh VII, who remitted Rs. 2,000 and the tomb with a marble tomb-stone

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-Āmīra*, p. 3. خزانہ عامرہ itself is the chronogram.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

3. Muṣṭafī, *Iqd-e-Surayyā*, preface.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. *Āryāna* (Kabul) Magazine, p. 3.

6. Sayyid Aḥmad, writing about the tombs and buildings of Dehlī about the middle of thirteenth century of Hijra (1847 A.D.), does not mention the tomb.

See page 154 of آثار الصنادید.

7. Ḥasan Nizāmī, *His letter in my possession*, f.1.

and a low enclosure of bricks was rebuilt. The inscription¹ on it reads :

مرقد سیرزا عبدالقادر بیدل تاریخ وفات ۳ صفر ۱۱۳۳
[اس کی ضروری تعمیر و ترمیم اعلیٰحضرت پرنور آصف جاہ سابع شہر یار دکن کی
توجہات شاماند سے ۱۲۵۹ھ میں کرائی گئی۔]

The tomb of Mīrẓā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil.

Date of death : 3rd Šafar, 1133 A.H.

[Necessary repairs and constructions made in 1359 A.H. through the royal regards of His Highness Āṣf Jāh VII, the ruler of the Deccan.]

The date of death as given in this inscription is incorrect. It should be 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. Moreover, the house of Bedil, where he was buried at his death, was situated on the bank of the River Jumna, as stated² by Husain Qulī Khān in *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*; and outside the Dehli Gate and the City-Wall, in the quarter of Khikrian by the Guzar Ghat (ferry), as stated by Khushgū.³ This authoritative description of the locality places the tomb of Bedil in the neighbourhood of Delhi Gate. But the Old Fort, where, near the tomb of Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān, Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī has discovered the site of Bedil's tomb, is at a distance of more⁴ than two miles from Delhi Gate. No doubt the River Jumna at one time flowed⁵ near the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān, and Bedil's tomb was also at the river-bank, but this alone cannot be a decisive factor in determining the situation of Bedil's tomb. Besides, the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān and also the equally famous tomb of Abū Bakr Tūsi opposite it have existed⁶ since the days of the Khālījī kings. But neither Khushgū nor Husain Qulī Khān has made any reference to these two very important tombs or to the Old Fort. Reference to Delhi Gate, therefore, shows that Bedil's house was nearer to this place than to the three almost contiguous historic places mentioned above. Finally, in *Āsār-uz-Zanādīd* by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, which was written in 1847 A.D., and also in the subsequent books : *Gharābat Nigār*, *Mazārāt-e-Auliya-e-Dehli* and *Wāqī'āt-e-Dārul Hukūmat-e-Dehli* no mention has been made of the tomb of Bedil. It is worth consideration that the last book in particular treats the subject exhaustively and mentions even the ruins⁷

1. Cf. the photo of the tomb attached.

2. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, Mss.

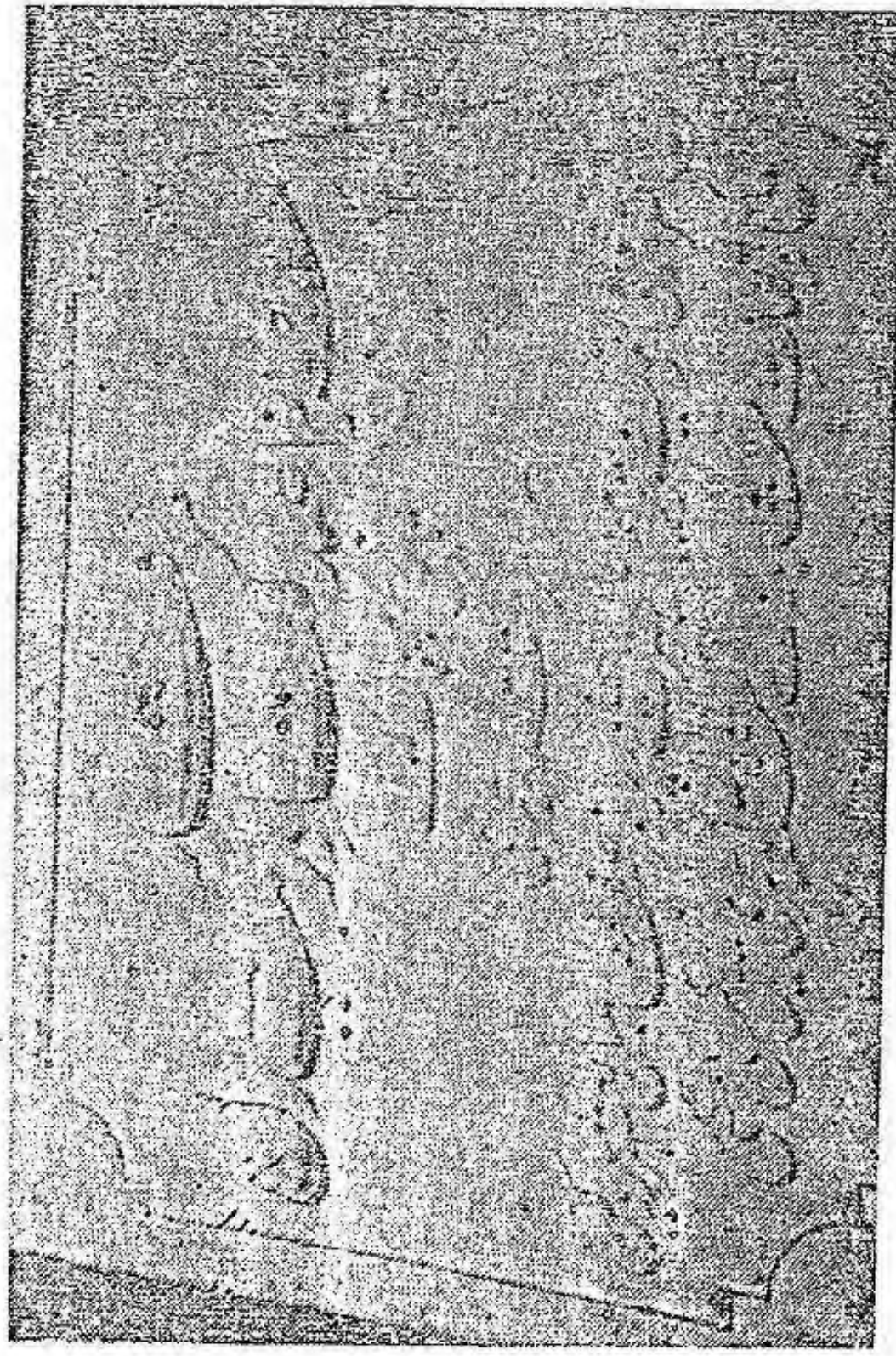
3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.

4. Sayyid Ahmad, Sir, *Āsār-uz-Zanādīd*, p. 47; 'Abdul Haq, *Gharābat Nigār*, p. 23.

5. Bashir-ud-Dīn, *Wāqī'āt-e-Dārul Hukūmat-e-Dehli*, II, pp. 623-24.

6. Muḥammad 'Ālam Shāh, *Mazārāt-e-Auliya-e-Dehli*, pp. 14, 16.

7. *Wāqī'āt-e-Dārul Hukūmat-e-Dehli*, II, p. 625.



INSCRIPTION ON BEDIL'S TOMB
(Courtesy—Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā)

of Dehli. *Āṣār-us-Sanādīd* also is of the utmost importance in this connection. Mirzā Asadullah Khān Ghālīb¹ (1797-1869 A.D.), who was an ardent follower² of Bedil, wrote a review³ on the book. Had there been any vestige of Bedil's tomb in 1847 A.D., Ghālīb must have asked Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān to mention it. It is, therefore, certain that absolutely no trace of Bedil's tomb was left by that time.⁴ In view of all this I am emphatically of the opinion that Maulānā Hasan Nizāmī has not been able to discover the right site of Bedil's tomb. A tomb, which, in spite of its indistinct shape, could be distinguished by Hasan Nizāmī in 1941 A.D. (1359 A.H.), could afford better visibility in 1847 A.D., i.e. about a century earlier. But we know Ghālīb and Sir Sayyid Ahmad have not uttered even a single word about the tomb in *Āṣār-us-Sanādīd*. To locate the tomb, therefore, a thorough and scientific search is needed at the spot.⁵

1. Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Ghālīb*, pp. 1, 256.

2. *Gulshan-e-Bekhar*, in Springer, I, p. 229; Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Ghālīb*, p. 334. Ghālīb himself has said:

اسد اللہ خان قیامت ہے طرز بیدل میں ریختہ لکھنا

[Asadullah Khān! It is extremely difficult to write ghazals in Bedil's style.]

3. Sayyid Ahmad, Sir, *Āṣār-us-Sanādīd*, pp. 125-27. The following verse of Ghālīb suggests that the tomb of Bedil had disappeared even before his (Ghālīb's) times:

گر ملے حضرت بیدل کا خط لوح مزار اسد آئینہ پرواز معانی مانگے

4. Ibid., p. 51. At this page Sayyid Ahmad seems to speak about the locality where Bedil's house was situated, but he has not mentioned the house or the tomb in question.

5. It may be noted that Dargāh Quil Khān places the tomb in the Old Dehli (دہلی کهنہ), see Dargāh Quil Khān, *Muraqqa'-e-Dehli*, p. 10.

WORKS

Introductory

BEDIL, we have seen, was very careful over the preservation of his works. Before handing them over to posterity, he weighed them against precious stones and pearls, gave alms, and prayed to God that his works be preserved. We know that the Kulliyāt, which was weighed in this way, remained at the tomb of Bedil for many years, and on every death anniversary the poets of Shāh Jahānābād placed it in their midst near Bedil's tomb and recited poems from it. But we do not know what happened to this Kulliyāt afterwards, nor whether now it does exist anywhere in the world or not. Moreover, not long after the poet's death in 1720 A.D. (1133 A.H.) the Mughal Imperial Government of Dehlī had to pass through several vicissitudes¹ until it finally ended in 1857 A.D. As for over a century, conditions were absolutely unsettled in Dehlī, it appears that most of the manuscript copies of his works were either destroyed or, with the exception of a few, they found their way to different European countries, especially England. Fortunately, during his lifetime, Bedil's fame had crossed the North-Western Frontiers of this subcontinent, and manuscripts of his works had reached Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz, where the scribes made many copies and gave them a wide circulation. This explains why almost all the manuscript copies of his Kulliyāt, which exist² in Kabul, have been imported from these two cities of Central Asia. From this account it appears that Bedil's prayer for the preservation of his works, was granted, although the original copy of the Kulliyāt, written under his own supervision, appears to have been lost.

1. Reference has been made here to the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the rebellion of the Rohillas and the Marhattas, and the conquests of the British.

2. For example, Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33—having محیط اعظم - رقعات نمہ وحدت - هجوم حیرت - بہار-تان جنوں - سرمہ اعتبار - گذری نامہ - فوائد ترجیع بند - رباعیات - غزلیات and was written in Bukhārā in 1236 A.H. by one Mullā 'Abdul Khāliq; and Kulliyāt No. 202—having غزلیات - رسالہ کیمیا - مخمسات - قصائد و قطعات تعریف فیل و شمشیر و اسب -

A study of the printed catalogues, describing Persian manuscripts existing in various libraries of the world, brings to light some very important facts with regard to the works of Bedil. Some of the manuscripts of his works were written during his lifetime, and some only a few years after his death. The Bankipur Library¹ has a manuscript copy of the *Ṣafā'ī* of Bedil which was written in 1118 A.H. (1706-07), i.e. thirteen years before the death of Bedil, and it is believed that this copy was transcribed by the poet himself. This library has also another very valuable² copy of Bedil's *Rubā'īs* written eleven years before his death, i.e. in 1122 A.H. But the most complete³ collection of Bedil's *Rubā'īs* extant, containing nearly 3,500 epigrams in a strictly alphabetical order, dated 17th Muḥarram, 1126 A.H. (February 2, 1714), exists in the India Office Library. It would, however, be interesting to note that in the British Museum, London, there is a collection of Bedil's *Rubā'īs*, which the copyist began⁴ to write when Bedil was alive, and finished it on 9th Rabī' I, 1133 A.H. (January 8, 1721), i.e. one month and four days after the poet's death; and incidentally the copyist has a colophon, at folio 126, which gives Thursday, 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720) as the date of Bedil's death.

As regards the oldest manuscript copies of the other independent works of Bedil, the *Maṣnavī 'Irfān* and the prose-work *Nikāt*, bearing the dates 1128 A.H. (1715-6 A.D.) and 1154 A.H. (1741-2 A.D.), respectively, are found in the British Museum.⁵ *Tilism-e-Hairat*, transcribed in 1188 A.H. (1774-5 A.D.), exists in the Edinburgh University Library⁶; and *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, copied in 1191 A.H. (1777-8 A.D.), has been preserved in the India Office Library.⁷ In Kabul I saw a very valuable manuscript copy of the *Maṣnavī Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, in the possession of Professor Hāshim Shāiq Afandī⁸ of Kabul University. This was written in 1134 A.H. (1721-2 A.D.) only one year after the death of Bedil, by one Muḥammad Wāris ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Šiddīqī. Two copies of this *Maṣnavī*, written each in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.), which are older than the other known copies, are found⁹ in the Edinburgh University Library and the India Office Library.

— was written in *Šahr-e-Sabz* in 1147 A.H. (1734-5 A.D.) by one Muḥammad Yūnus Khwāja.

1. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 386.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 385.
3. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Ms. No. 1681.
4. *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Supplement, fol. 212-a.
5. *Ibid.*, folios 707-a and 746-b.
6. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 317.
7. *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.* No. 1686.
8. *Āryāna Magazine*, Kabul for Dalv, 1329 A.H., pp. 6-11.
9. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 314; *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, No. 1682.

Leaving aside these independent works found separately, we come to the *Dīwān* or *Kulliyāt* of Bedil. Its first copy was prepared towards the close of the eleventh century of the Hijra. Perhaps a manuscript of this *Dīwān*, bearing the date 1098 A.H.—a copy of which remained in possession of Anand Rām Mukhlis, who obtained on it the autograph of Bedil—is found¹ in the Ḥabīb Ganj Library. It has only 5,346 verses, and specimens of all types of verse have been given. Another copy² of the old or first *Dīwān* of the poet, having a Preface, *Ghazals*, *Qaṣīdās*, and *Rubā'īs*, is found in the India Office Library. This copy was finished on the 15th of Zulqāda, A.H. 1106 (May 13, 1693). It is not known whether these two copies of the old *Dīwān* are identical or not. The Bankipur Library has a *Kulliyāt*³ of Bedil, in two volumes, which was written only one or two years after the poet's death. It is said to contain complete prose and poetical works of Mīrẓā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. It contains:

Volume I. *Chahār 'Unṣur*, *Ruq'āt*, Preface to the old *Dīwān*, *Qaṣīdās*, *Qit'ahs*, *Rubā'īs*, etc., تنبيه المهوسين, Satirical *Rubā'īs*, and *Ghazals*.

Volume II. *Rubā'īs*, *Tūr-e-Ma'arifāt*, *Muḥīṭ-e-A'ẓam*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, and *'Irfān*.

But if the chronological priority of Bankipur *Dīwān* is set aside, I would attach equal importance to the Kābul Museum⁴ richly adorned and elegant *Dīwān* of Bedil, written by Muḥammad Qāsim Ibn Mullā Shīfī Ullah in 1247 A.H. (1831-2 A.D.) because, although it does not contain تنبيه المهوسين and طور معرفت, it has *Nikāṭ* and *Ishārāt* of Bedil, of which the Bankipur *Dīwān* is bereft.

But this does not mean that these two *Dīwāns* put together contain all the prose and poetical works of Bedil. Much would still be wanting. The *Maṣnavī Gul-e-Zard*, about which Bedil wrote⁵ to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, has not been mentioned and unfortunately all the catalogues are silent about it. Besides, the *Dīwān* in the Panjab University Library has 29 *Mukhammasāt* of Bedil, which have not been given in the above-mentioned *Dīwāns*. But the Panjab University *Dīwān*, too, has not got the *Mukhammasāt* beginning with the following lines:

این خیره سری چند که نئی حال و نه قال اند
الصلای سرخوشان جام اقبال طرب
ای از عدم تا هستیت هنگامه نیرنگها

1. *Ma'a'if*, for January 1934 A.D.

2. *India Office Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 1676.

3. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 381.

4. *Kābul Museum Kulliyāt* No. 51.

5. Bedil wrote that he had written 150 verses of the *Maṣnavī*. I think it was incorporated by him in his *Tūr-e-Ma'rifāt*. I base my opinion on the following hemistich found in the latter:

گلی زردم گل زردم گل زرد

I found¹ these three *Mukhammasāt* in the *Diwān* in Ma'arif Library, Kābul, written in 1309 A.H. (1891-2 A.D.) by *Ghulām Husain Kābulī*. This brings the number of the poems of this kind to 32, but when I was in Kābul, Professor Hāshim Shā'iq Afandī told me that he had counted 45 *Mukhammasāt*. The Ma'arif Library *Diwān*,² mentioned just now, contains some more additional material. It has a *Tarkīb Band*, *Tarjī' Band*, Riddles, and verses in praise of the elephant, the horse, the beloved, the sword, and *Shab-e-Barāt*. Both, *Khushgū*³ and the author⁴ of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, have included almost all of these in the works of Bedil. Moreover, in this Kābulī *Diwān*, there are 65 verses by Bedil in the Turkish⁵ language. I give only one verse from the *Qasīda*:

ای تخت تیموری اور رانادر یو جملہ غلخانظ اور دی تادر

We should not be surprised to learn this because we know already that Bedil knew⁶ Turkish. Also *Khushgū* speaks⁷ about an Anthology (بیاض) compiled by Mirzā Bedil which has been described⁸ by Dr. Rieu in the catalogue of the British Museum, London. Moreover, Bedil himself speaks about another work on Geomancy (رسل), called *Tālīful Ahkām*.⁹ No biographer, however, has mentioned anything about this work, although *Khushgū* has stated¹⁰ that the poet was well versed in the Art. This compilation, too, like the *Maṣnavī Gul-e-Zard*, seems to have been lost. Finally, both¹¹ *Khushgū* and the author of *Gul-e-Ra'nā*, tell us that Bedil composed about, 99,000 verses and they state that *Maṣnavī Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam* of Bedil contains 2,000 verses only. But in the Edinburgh University Library there are

1. Ma'arif Library, Kābul, Ms. No. 504/9 folios 1031, 1042, and 1088 respectively.

2. It contains:

اوراق حمد و نعت و مناقب و ترکیبہ بند ، نکات ، اوراق در تعریف قبل ، اوراق حکایت در علم کیمیا ، اوراق در تعریف دھان و کلام معشوق و تعریف امپ ، اوراق ترجیع بند ، اوراق در تعریف شمشیر ، اوراق غزلیات ، اوراق قصیدہ ، آخری ، اوراق تاریخ تولد و غزل و رباعی بی نقط ، اوراق رباعیات ، اوراق در صفت شب برات و عمارت و تاریخ و قطعات ، اوراق معما و چیستان ، رباعیات تمہیت ، تعزیت و مخمسات و رباعیات ۔

3. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, pp. 374-6.

4. *Bankipur Library Catalogue*, under No. 381.

5. Ma'arif Library, Kābul, Ms. No. 504/9, page 1001.

6. Page 44 *supra*.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif* May 1942, p. 376.

8. Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue*, f. 737a-b.

9. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, Preface to *Ruq'at*, p. 1.

10. Page 105, *supra*.

11. Foot notes No. 3 and 4 above.

در این کتاب
 از کتب
 قدسی
 است
 که
 در
 این
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 قدسی
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در این کتاب
 از کتب
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two manuscript copies of this *Maṣnavī* and one is larger¹ than the other. In the Punjab University Library,² too, there are two copies of this *Maṣnavī*, of which each has about 6,000 verses; and the one I saw with Hāshim Shāiq Āfandī in Kābul had also an equal number of verses. It is thus apparent that Bedil's works are scattered all over the world, and that no manuscript *Kulliyāt* of Bedil contains his complete prose and poetical works.

Incidentally, it would be of particular interest to the admirers of the great Urdu poet Asadullah Khān Ghālib, that, in the Panjab University Library, there is a manuscript³ having Bedil's *Maṣnavīs* *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* and *Muhīt-e-A'zam*, which were for some time with Ghālib. The *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, on its first page, above the seal impression of Ghālib, has the following couplet in his own beautiful cursive hand :

ازین صحیفه بنوعی ظهور معرفت است که ذره ذره چراغان طور معرفت است

[From this treatise a wide range of mystical knowledge is revealed in such a way that

[Every atom is luminous like the mount Sinai of knowledge (طور معرفت)].

Similarly, the *Maṣnavī* *Muhīt-e-A'zam* has the following couplet :

هر جایی را که موجش گل کند جام جم است
آب حیوان آبجوی از محیط اعظم است

[Every bubble that rises from the wave is the cup of Jamshīd and the

Water of Life is but a streamlet from the محیط اعظم (Great Ocean).]

The seal bears the date 1231 A.H. (1815-6 A.D.).

So much about the manuscripts. Now we should take up the published works of Bedil. As far as I have been able to discover, the *Ruq'āt* of the poet were published, with marginal notes, in Ḥasnī Press, Lucknow, in 1260 A.H. (1844-5 A.D.) in the Nawilkishore Press in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.) and in the Ahmadi Press, Shāhdara (Meerūt). His *Chahār 'Unsur*, too, was published, in the last mentioned press in 1278 A.H. (1861-2 A.D.). Dr. Etche says⁴ that the old or first *Dīwān* of Bedil, together with *رقعات و نکات* and *چهار عنصر*, was lithographed in 1287 A.H. (1870-1 A.D.), at Lucknow, under the title *کلیات بدیل*. This was perhaps re-published in the Nawilkishore Press

1. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue*, Ms. No. 315.

2. *Panjab University Library*, Mss. Nos. 1524 and 1526.

3. *Ibid.*, Ms. No. 1525. Khwāja 'Isādullah Akhtar also gives these verses : Ghālib in his book *Bedil*, but as he got everything relating to these verses from the author of this work, the original source has been given here.

4. Etche, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 1876.

in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.), because it contains all the prose and poetical works of Bedil mentioned by Ethelred. The *Ghazliyyāt* were published in *Shāhdara* (Meerut) in 1170 A.H. (1756-7 A.D.), in the Nawilkishore Press in 1914 A.D., in Tāshkand in 1330 A.H. (1912 A.D.), and in Lahore in 1333 A.H. (1915 A.D.). The last two are identical, and besides the *Ghazliyyāt*, they have also the *Qasā'id* and *Rubā'iyyāt*. The *Shāhdara* copy has only *Ghazliyyāt*, while the Nawilkishore one has in addition *Nikāt* as well as a number of *Rubā'iyyāt*, and it is said that its original was brought¹ from Bukhārā, in manuscript form, by some traders. All the *Diwāns* mentioned here have only selections of Bedil's *Ghazals*. The *Kulliyāt* too does not contain many important works. I would, therefore, like to discuss at length the two most important editions of Bedil's works.

Two traders,² Mukhtār Shāh and Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm, once came to Bombay from Marghīnān,³ a famous town near Farghāna in Transoxania, and brought with them a unique manuscript copy of the *Kulliyāt* of Bedil. They requested Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn, the proprietor of the *Safdarī* Press, Bombay, to arrange for the publication of the *Kulliyāt*. Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn undertook to do the needful with the keenness and enthusiasm rarely shown by publishers. He collected the works of Bedil from every land where they were found (بهر دیاری که کلام بدیل یافتند فراهم کردند). Eminent scholars of Persian were employed to collate the manuscripts and to correct the proofs. The calligraphist, Sayyid 'Alī Khān, who wrote the transcript, had a beautiful Nasta'liq hand. The *Kulliyāt* was brought out in 1299 A.H. (1881-82 A.D.), and, as claimed:

نظیرش مدوم و مثالش سوهم

it is really matchless. Whether it turned out to be a commercial enterprise or not, there is no denying the fact that the publishers rendered a great service to Persian literature.

The *Kulliyāt* is 13½ X 10 inches, four columns to a page for poetry. The maximum number of verses which a page can have is 73, 60 in the four columns, and 13 on the margin, and the number of pages is 1,032. It has, therefore, not less than 70,000 couplets. No other known copy of the *Kulliyāt* of Bedil, whether manuscript or published, has so many couplets. Moreover, with the exception of *گل زرد*, *تالیف الاحکام*, *مخمسات*, verses in praise of an elephant, etc., verses in Turkish, and *بیاض*,⁴ every other work of Bedil is included

1. *Diwān-e-Bedil with Nikāt*, Nawilkishore Edition, p. 258.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, last but one page at the end of *Qif'āt*.

3. Yāqūt, *Ain'jamul Baladān*, v. 8, p. 27.

4. The first two are perhaps lost, and, as far as I know, no *Kulliyāt* has all the *مخمسات* together. As regards the rest of the works these introductory remarks tell a lot.

in this *Kulliyāt*. Also I found that in it the *Maṣnavī Muḥīṭ-e-Diḡanī* has only 2,000 verses and not 6,000 as some manuscripts of the *Maṣnavī* contain. The number of *Ghazliyyāt* and *Qit'āt* too is less. In spite of these drawbacks it is, as I have remarked, far better than any other *Kulliyāt* of Bedil.

At the end of the *Kulliyāt* a brief biography of the poet has been given. We are told that he belonged to the *Arlās* tribe of *Mughals*, and that he was born in 'Aẓīmābād, Patna. Other details too corroborate our researches. There is also a concise but instructive review on Bedil's verse.

Now I turn to the other *Diwān* of supreme value typed in Arabic script, with meticulous care, in *Kābul* in 1334 A.H. (1916 A.D.), at the behests of Amīr *Habībullah Khān*. It consists only of *ghazals*, and is 19×13 inches. It has 232 pages, with 4 columns each except when there is a *ghazal* with a longer metre, and then there are only two columns. The average number of couplets to a page is about 82. The *Diwān*, therefore, has about 20,000 couplets in all. But the *ghazals* given in it go only up to the letter 'ḍ' (*dāl*). It is hence an incomplete volume, and probably remained so owing to the sudden and unfortunate end of *Habībullah Khān*. Still it is an invaluable edition. Its characteristic features are:

1. The *Diwān* has been arranged in alphabetical order keeping in view both the opening letter and the last letter of each *ghazal*. It is, therefore, very easy to search out a *ghazal* when its first letter is known.

2. The *Diwān* has the greatest number of *ghazals* under each *radīf*. For example, in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* under 'radīf Alaf' there are 204 *ghazals*, while this *Diwān* has 335.

3. Every *ghazal* in this *Diwān* has the largest number of couplets. We take the *ghazal* beginning with:

زهی نظاره را از جلوۂ حسن تو زیورها

The *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* and the *Lahore Diwān* have each 7 couplets in this *ghazal*. The *Nawilkiashore Diwān* has 11, and the *Diwān* under discussion has 15.

4. In the case of several *ghazals*, having the same metre and rhyme, overlappings are observed in other *Diwāns* but not in the *Kābul Diwān*. In *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* there are three *ghazals* of the metre and rhyme:

زهی نظاره را از جلوۂ حسن تو زیورها

The first two have the same opening verse, and the second and

the third have the same concluding verse. Moreover, several other couplets have been repeated in all the three *ghazals*. The *Kābul Dīwān* has also three *ghazals*; but it is absolutely free from this defect.

5. In the *ghazals* of the same metre and the same rhyme, the *Kābul Dīwān* has the largest number of verses. In the aforesaid three *ghazals*, this *Dīwān* has 43 verses, while the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* has only 33.

6. The hemistiches of verses in some cases have been interchanged even in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* and the verses, therefore, become meaningless. In the *Kābul Dīwān* this intermingling too has been avoided. The following verses of both the *Dīwāns* may be studied side by side:

Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī

نیست ممکن رنگ را بابوی گل آبیختن
کمتو آفتد نرمنی* پستان زن نازاده را

ساز نخست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آلوده را

Kābul Dīwān

نیست ممکن رنگ را بابوی گل آبیختن
کم رسد گرد کدورت دامن آزاده را

ساز نخست نیست بیدل بی درشتیهائی طبع
کمتو آفتد نرمنی* پستان زن نازاده را

7. Last but not the least, the *Kābul Dīwān* has more often the most correct form of each verse. The following verse in both these *Dīwāns* may be compared:

Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī

سر سودائی مارا غم دستار کی باشد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوقان می رود سرها

Kābul Dīwān

سر سودائی مارا غم دستار کی پیچد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوقان می رود سرها

Everyone would agree with the aptness of the word پیچد in the *Kābul Dīwān*.

Without minimising in the least the value of *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, I would hold that the *Kābul Dīwān* is the superior-most publication of Bedil's *Ghazals*. But it is most unfortunate that political cataclysms did not allow this task to be completed.

We have considered above the manuscripts and the published *Diwāns* of Bedil in detail. It is, therefore, appropriate at this stage to give in one place all his works. Besides the two pamphlets *گل زرد* and *تالیف الاحکام*, which have been apparently lost, the verse of Bedil consists¹ of :

1. *Ghazliyyāt*; 2. *Tarkīb Band*; 3. *Tarjī' Band*; 4. *Tilism-e-Hairat*; 5. *Muḥit-e-A'zam*; 6. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*; 7. *'Irfān*; 8. *Tanbīhul Muḥavisīn*; 9. *Ishārāt-e-Hikāyāt*; 10. *Qaṣā'id*; 11. *Qit'āt*; 12. *Rubā'iyāt*; 13. *Mukhammasāt*; 14. Verses in praise of an elephant, a horse, the beloved, the sword and *Shab-e-Barāt*; 15. Riddles; 16. *Facia*, 17. Verses in Turkish language.

And his prose consists of :

1. *Ruq'āt*; 2. *Chahār 'Unsur*; 3. *Nikāt*. 4. *Biaṣ*. 5. *Prefaces*.

I would discuss all these works in the following order :

Chapter IV. *Ghazliyyāt*.

Chapter V. *Maṣnavīs* : *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, *'Irfān*, *Tanbīhul Muḥavisīn*, *The Descriptive Maṣnavī*, and *Ishārāt-e-Hikāyāt*.

Chapter VI. *Qaṣā'id*, *Quatrains* (including poet's *facia*), *Mukhammasāt*, *Tarkīb Band*, *Tarjī' Band*, *Fragments*, and *Riddles*.

1. Under Persian Books, a work *زنگنه* by Bedil has been mentioned in the *Catalogue of the India Office Library*. It is the story of *Rāmāyana* versified by some other Bedil and has been lithographed in Lucknow in A.D. 1875. In the *Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, Edwards speaks about a work : *کتاب مستطاب تحفة الذاکرين بيدل*, lithographed in Tcheras, in A.D. 1863-64, in three volumes. It is a history of *Husain* and other members of the Prophet's family, and is illustrated. *Muḥammad Husain Āzād* too, in *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, has mentioned a similar book named *مجالس بيدل*. But I don't think Bedil ever wrote such like books. Doctor *Ethe* also speaks about another mystical poem by Bedil which is without title and deals with love, the lover, and the beloved, in the metre *رباعی*. I saw a poem of this nature, dealing with these very subjects, in *Kābul* also. It is given towards the end of a *Bedil's Kulliyāt*, but it is in the metre *مربع*. Its author is some *Munir*, and hence the poem's title has been given *رساله منیری*. As regards the *Maṣnavī* spoken of by *Ethe*, I cannot say anything definitely because I have not seen it. For references see:

Catalogue of the India Office Library, Vol. II, Part VI, Persian Books.

Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 14.

Āzād, *Muḥammad Husain, Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, p. 180.

Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, No. 1676.

Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, in *Ma'ārif Library*, *Kābul*, Scribe *Mirzā Muḥammad 'Aziz* son of *Muḥammad Amin*.

Chapter VII. Prose Works : *Chahār 'Unsur*, *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, *Nikāi*, *Biāz* (Anthology), and *Prefaces*.

Chapter VIII. Bedil's personality and poetic genius.

The verses about *Shab-e-Barāt* are not available in the Panjab, and I have already given a verse in Turkish language as a specimen. Hence these will not be discussed.

Before closing these introductory remarks I wish to guard against a possible misunderstanding. While going through the contents of different *Diwāns* of Bedil found in the world, one comes across certain names of his works which have not been included in the list of the works given in the two preceding paragraphs. This does not mean that they are of spurious character. The fact, however, is that Bedil himself incorporated those pamphlets, etc., in one of his works or the other. Thus *تتمه وحدت*, *فوائد خاوشی*, *سرمد اعتبار*, *هجوم حیرت*, *گذری نامه* and *بهارستان جنون*, spoken of in the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33, can be seen in the Third Chapter of *Chahār 'Unsur*¹ and in the *Ruq'āt*.² Moreover, the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 52 speaks about a *Maṣnavī* *مرآت الله* by Bedil. This too has been given in toto in the *Maṣnavī 'Irfān*.³

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, pp. 85, 92, 94, 97.

2. *Ruq'āt*, Nawilkishore Edition, pp. 15-17.

3. *'Irfān*, *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, pp. 14-35. Its first and last verses are:

ای حدوث شعور اسم و صفات قدست حیرت تقدس ذات

کرد این چا نسانه ما کوتاه معنی لا اله الا الله

CHAPTER IV

Ghazal of Bedil

BEDIL appeared at the stage when ghazal, the sweetest form of Persian poetry, had passed several stages in its evolutionary process. Originally, a part of the Qasida, it assumed an independent position later on, and in the hands of Rūdakī and Daqīqī it was confined simply to earthly love. The social and cultural conditions began to change gradually and, with the passage of time, mysticism became popular in Muslim lands, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era Sanā'-i-'Attār, and Rūmī introduced the mystic element into Persian Ghazal. As these poets were inspired by Divine Love—a purer and more enduring passion—Ghazal assumed a sublimity and sweetness unknown before. Sa'dī (1184-1291 A.D.), the well-known master of Ghazal, sang about Divine Love, using common¹ similes and metaphors, and in such “a soft, refined, musical, and melodious way” that his lyrical poetry became universally popular in Muslim countries. It was Hāfiz (d. 1369 A.D.) in particular who imparted much-needed fervour and burning passion to Ghazal and, like Rūmī, expressed in it his metaphysical² views freely and very sweetly. This philosophic element got³ a further impetus from the Ṣafwī Dynasty (A.D. 1500-1736) which took special pains to popularise speculative studies.

When the scope of Ghazal had been amply widened by these ardent poets, and, due to the changes in the cultural outlook of the people, erotic love, mysticism, philosophy, and moral and social values had become the subject-matter of Ghazal, Bābā Fighānī of Shīrāz (d. 925/1519) created a new⁴ School of Poetry in the beginning of the Ṣafawī Period and poets followed him not only in Irān but also in India. Fighānī introduced conciseness and a novel intricacy with

1. Hālī, Alīāl Husain, *Huṣyāt-i-Sa'dī*, 100 (Persian trans. Sarush).

2. For Rūmī, see 'Abdul Ḥakīm Khalifa, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*. For Hāfiz see Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, pp. 31-33.

3. Ibid., p. 57.

4. Wāla Dāghistānī, *Riāḡush Shu'arā*, Mss. fs. 109-a, B, 110-a; Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 27-30; V, pp. 47-49.

greater emphasis on freshness of similes and metaphors. This school of Poetry was called *Tāzagūi*. In India 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Zuhūrī and other poets followed *Figḥānī*; and this new element, in the hands of the Indian poets, evolved a unique finesse¹ and subtlety, not only in thought but also in expression. When Bedil was a child, *Ghānī Kashmīrī* (d. 1079/1668-9) and *Ṣāib* (d. 1080/1669-70) were further developing this Indian style in Persian verse, and they were very enthusiastic about original conceits, poetical aetiology, and aptness of illustration² (*صنعت ارسال المربل*)—figures which require lofty imagination and larger exercise of intellectual effort.

Bedil inherited all these trends in Persian *Ghazal*; the evolution of this class of Persian verse was before his mental eye as a single developing creative process, and he, therefore, did not select for imitation any particular group of poets representing a particular style. This endowed him with comprehensiveness and a balanced attitude of mind. In him, therefore, we find elements of all styles and of all schools of thought prevalent in Persian literature. A man of fastidious tastes, and a voracious reader, he began his studies with *Rūdakī* and ended with *Mullā 'Alī Razā Tājallī*³—his contemporary, though much older in age. All the great poets of the intervening period, who left their mark in Persian literature, were eagerly studied by him, and in many cases he followed them not only in form but also in spirit, and we shall see that ultimately, after a successful imitation of the master-poets, he developed an original style on account of the loftiness of his thought and the vigour and originality of his mind.

We know,⁴ when *Mīrzā Qalandar*, Bedil's uncle, heard two teachers of Bedil exchanging hot words between themselves, in the course of a discussion, he asked Bedil to leave the *Maktab* for good and to study the works of master-writers of prose and verse at home under his personal supervision. We also know that so long as Bedil was in *Bihār*, he wrote verse in the style of classical⁵ poets. Researches have revealed the names of only a few poets he studied and followed because only scanty references are available. But if the references made by Bedil during the whole of his life are kept in view, and the accounts given by different *Tazkirah*-writers are minutely studied, we gather a fair crop of names which discloses Bedil's profound indebtedness to the classical writers of Persian. Bedil wrote a quatrain, in the form of a dialogue, imitating a similar quatrain

1. *Shibli, Shī'ar al-'Ajam*, V, pp. 53, 57.

2. *Ibid.*, III.

3. See the succeeding paragraphs.

4. Page 10, *supra*.

5. Page 15, *supra*.

written by Rūdakī seven centuries before him. He showed his preparedness to quote¹ 'Asjadī, Farrukhī, Mu'izzī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Khwāja Salmān, and other classical poets, when once Nāẓim Khān objected to the use of the idiom *نمید بانی* in Bedil's verse. He wrote his Maṣnāvī 'Irfān in the style of Hadīqā³ of Sanāī, and his famous *ترجیع بند* in imitation of the equally reputed⁴ *ترجیع بند* of 'Irāqī. In his Qaṣā'id Bedil followed Khāqānī, Amīr Khusrāu and others. Mīr 'Azmatullah Bilgrāmī tells us that Bedil recited the following couplet of Khāqānī :

همسایه شنید ناله ام گفت خاقانی را دگر شب آمد

[When the neighbour heard my cries, he said,

"Poor Khāqānī has to go through the ordeal of another night."]

when he (the Mīr) had a meeting⁵ with him. For Anwarī, 'Attār, Sa'dī and Ḥafiz the following couplets of Bedil may be studied :

رفع انکار از نسب جوان معنی مشکل است
گر به تدرت انوری در معرفت عطار باش

از گل و سنبل به نظم و نثر سعدی قائم
این طراوت در گلستان بیشتر دارد بهار

1. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 371. The quatrains are : Rūdakī.

آمد بر من که یار کی وقت سحر ترسید ز که زخیم خصمش که پدر
دادش چه بوسه کجا بر لب و بر لب بدنه چه عقیق چو بدجو شکر
["Came to Me." "Who?" "Beloved." "When?" "At dawn." "Was afraid." "Of whom?" "Of the enemy." "Which enemy?" "Her father." "I printed." "What?" "A kiss." "Where?" "On lips and breast." "Were they lips?" "No." "What then?" "Ruboies." "Their taste?" "Like honey."].

This quatrain, as we see, sang only of female love, but as Bedil was a mystic and was occupied with deeper thoughts, he spoke symbolically about matters of deeper significance :

دی خفت که ناله در کجا خفت بگل کردم چه فغان از چه زیاد منزل
داد از که زخود چرا از معنی باطل کفتاد چه بار از که سر بر که بدل

["Slept yesterday." "What?" "Dromedary." "Where?" "In the mire. I made." "What?" "Cries." "Why?" "I thought of my destination. I complain." "Against whom?" "Against myself." "Why?" "On account of my vain effort. Because fell." "What?" "Burden." "From where?" "From the head." "On what?" "On the heart."]

Khushgū adds that Sirāj-ud-Dīn Khān Ārzū liked Bedil's Rubā'ī very much.

2. Page 104, supra.

3. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 374.

4. Ibid.

5. Bikhābar, *Safina-e-Bikhābar*, Mss., f. 23-b. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 316.

بیدل کلام حافظ شد هادی خیالت
دارم امید کآخر مقصود من بر آید

In these verses Bedil praises Anwarī for his mastery over language, pays tribute to 'Attār for his mysticism, eulogises Sa'dī for his graceful expression, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Hāfiz for his thought-provoking poem. Again, Bedil compiled the gist¹ of 'Attār's *Taḡkirat al Auliya*, his poetical title owed its origin to an inspiring hemistich² of Sa'dī, and he wrote *ghazals* in imitation of Hāfiz. I give below a few selected verses from two *ghazals*, one by Hāfiz and the other by Bedil, which show how far Bedil followed Hāfiz.³

Hāfiz

گر تیغ بارد در کوئی آن ماه	گردن نپادیم الحکم الله
من رنم و عاشق آنکه توبه	استغفر الله استغفر الله
آئین تقوی ما نیز دانیم	اما چه چاره بایخت گمراه
ما شیخ و زاهد کمتر شناسیم	یا جام پاده یا قصه کوتاه
عاشق مخور غم گروصل خواهی	خون بایدت خورد درگه بیگه
حافظ نبودی زینگونه بیدل	گرمی شنیدی پند نکو خواه

[If sword comes like rain in the street of that moonlike beauty,
We have bent our heads. God's will must prevail.
I am a lover and a debauchee, how can I repent?
God forbid. God forbid.
We also know the canons of asceticism;
But there is no help with the perverse Fate.
We are not acquainted with the priest or the holy man,
Either a cup of wine or nothing else.
O Lover! Don't grieve. If you want union,
Take draughts of your heart's blood at all times.
Hāfiz, you would not have been so much disheartened,
If you had only given ear to the advice of the well-wisher.]

1. Page 26, supra.

2. Page 15, supra.

3. Sarkhush says in *Kalimatush Shu'arā* at page 15 that Bedil imitated a *ghaza* of Hāfiz with a change in rhyme and quotes Bedil's following verse in support:

در هائی فردرس و بود امروز
از بی دماغی گفتیم فردا

The concluding verse of Bedil's *ghazal* quoted here by me shows that it was written in Bedil's old age. Although Sarkhush went on making additions to his *Tazkirah* till 1115 A.H., he does not appear to have seen this *ghazal* of Bedil. Here Bedil followed Hāfiz, using his metre and rhyme.

Bedil

بر شعله تا چند نازیدن کاه
در دولت تیر مرگست ناگاه
صد نقص دارد ساز کمال
چندین هلال است پیش و پس ماه
دل صید عشق است محکوم کس نیست
الحکم لله و الملك لله
دنیا و دین کو شک و یقین کو
الله الله الله الله
عمری طپیدیم تا خاک گشیم
فرسنگ ها داشت این یک قدم راه
چون شمع از صبح روز است بیگانه
بیدل چه نالیم از یاس پیری

[How long can the straw guard itself against the flame?

In the good luck of the arrow (of the beloved's bewitching glances) there is instantaneous death.

The instrument of perfection has a hundred defects.

There are so many crescents before and after the perfect Moon.

My heart is a prey to love, and is ruled by none else, (that is)

Allah's orders in Allah's land.

The world and the religion, doubt and faith have nothing to do here.

It is Allah and Allah alone that sways.

I fretted and fumed for ages and then changed into dust.

This passage equal to a pace was so many *parsangs* long.

Bedil, why should I weep on account of the disappointments of the old age?

Like that of the candle, my day from the very dawn was illumened.]

There are yet two more classical poets who can be mentioned here. In his *Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam* Bedil is found seeking¹ inspiration from Rūmī, while, Bedil's *Tilism-e-Hairat* is written in the metre² of Jāmī's celebrated *Maṣnavī Yūṣuf Zulaikḥā*. Moreover, we know, whenever Nizām al Mulk went to see Bedil, books like *Nafḥāt* of Jāmī were presented³ to him by Bedil. With Jāmī the classical poets come to an end, and we note they number 15.

As regards the poets of the later period, whether followers of Bībā Fighānī or the others, we can say authoritatively that Bedil made his knowledge of Persian verse quite up-to-date. Rieu,⁴ while describing the anthology compiled by Mīrzā Bedil, says that it contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khāqānī to the author's time. Several poets have thus been enumerated. Khushgū says⁵ that he learnt the Diwāns of the Tāzagū poets from

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam*, last page.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

3. Page 83, *supra*.

4. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian Mss.*, under Nos. 16302 and 16303.

5. Page 86, *supra*.

Bedil. Also it has already been remarked¹ that Bedil mentioned many poets in the preface to his *Muḥiṭ-e-A'zam*. Most of them were Tāzagū poets, and I had occasion to speak about them in the beginning of the second chapter of this volume. From all these sources the names of the following additional poets have been gleaned :

Hilālī (a poet of Bābur's times), 'Urfī (d. 999/1590-1), Zuhādī (d. 1025/1616-7), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Tālib (d. 1036/1626-7), Jalāl Āsīr (d. 1049/1639-40), Shaidā (a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Qudsi (d. 1056/1646-7), Muḥammad Qulī Salīm (d. 1057/1647-8), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Hakīm Ruknā (d. 1066/1655-6), Sāmī (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Mīr Yahyā Kāshānī (d. 1074/1663-4), Sāib (d. 1060/1659-70), Nakshshabī, 'Abdūl Aḥad Wahdat, Mujrim, Muḥammad Sa'īd Ashraf (the teacher of princess Zebun Nisā); and Mullā 'Alī Rāza Tajallī (d. 1088/1677-8).

The names of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī and Irādat Khān Wazīh have also been given by Rieu, but they were contemporaries of Bedil, and already a detailed list of the contemporary poets has been given in the third chapter. Finally, to a discerning reader it would have occurred that Nazīrī (d. 1023 A.H.)—a tāzagū poet—has not been mentioned here. But I think the following couplet of Bedil :

دلیل مقصد ما پسکه ناتوانی بود بهر کجا که رسیدیم گفت جا اینجاست
is an echo of this couplet of Nazīrī.

ز فرق تا بقدم هر کجا که می نگرم کرشمه دامن دل می کشد که جا اینجاست
At the end of this paragraph I like to give another couplet by Bedil which again shows his regard for Sāib :

دعوی آسان کرد بیدل پیش موزنان هند
مصرعی چند فراهم کردن و صائب شدن

[Before the Indian poets Bedil easily made a pretentious claim,

That he will collect a few hemistiches and become equal to Sāib.]

We have seen above that the whole sweep of Persian verse, from Rūdakī down to his own times, was before Bedil's eyes. Rieu tells² that in his anthology Bedil has classed a vast number of poets according to the various styles of poetical composition. This shows that Bedil was fully conversant with the prominent traits found in the styles of each era and also of each poet. It is because of this

1. Page 33, supra.

2. Rieu, *Catalogue of London Museum Persian Mss.*, f. 737-a.

comprehensive and deep study of the masterpieces of Persian poets that Bedil has been able to combine in his verse all the good features of other master poets. Niāz Fatahpurī, a modern critic, writes¹ that when we study Bedil we find in him all that is best in literature in such abundance that we need not study any other poet. This may be a hyperbolic admission of Bedil's greatness as a poet, but the fact remains that in his verse Bedil gracefully introduced all the salient characteristics of the great Persian poets. And, not content with what he had inherited from his predecessors, he made several improvements and enriched Persian literature in many ways. It was manifestly a gigantic effort, and he might have erred at some places, but this in no way detracts from the supreme value of the creative experience he had in his life. With this as background we proceed to consider Bedil's peculiarities as a writer of *ghazals*:

1. *Linguistic elegance* (حسن لفظی). Bedil's concern for the most appropriate, colourful, and polished words was noticed² in his lifetime by *Shīr Khān Lodhī* and *Khushgū*. In our own times Niāz Fatahpurī, who has been quoted already, grows over-enthusiastic³ in his praise for Bedil's linguistic elegance.

About this peculiarity, Bedil himself says:

با کلام آبدارت کی رسد لاف گهر
بیدل این جا اعتباری نیست حرف بسته را

[How can the mere boasts of the pearl approach the brilliance of your words?

Bedil, the tied words have no value here.]

I give below instances to show Bedil's mastery in this respect:

هر برگ این چمن رقمی دارد از بهار عالم نگیں تراششی سودائی نام اوست

[Every petal in this garden has the writ of spring.

The world appeared from the scrapings of the gem of His Name's Love.]

چه فلک چه ذره ناتوان به هوائی شوق تو زرفشان

تو بهار و عالم رنگ و بو همه آشیان ظهور تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the humble atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.

You are the spring, and this elegant and graceful world is the nest for your manifestation.]

2. *New compounds* (تراکیب تازه). Concern for linguistic elegance naturally develops into a love for new compounds. 'Urfī and Nazīrī

1. Niāz Fatahpurī, *Makrūbāt*, I, p. 173.

2. *Shīr Khān Lodhī*, *Mir'ātul Khayāl*, p. 385. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, July 1942, p. 353.

3. Niāz Fatahpurī, *Makrūbāt*, I, p. 119.

were famous! for coining fresh constructions. Bedil too enriched the language considerably by brilliant and graphic constructions. Instances:

شعله، ادراک، کشاد دو جهان، تبسم پاشنی صبح، نو بهار عشرت، بهار
آبرو، کاروان درد، سیل گفتگو، صد کل خنده، چمن پیکر، حسن سیکون، فلک شکوه،
یک جهان آشفته گی، بهار طرب، درس حیرت پیام، لطافت بدوش، کل پیکر، سحاب
مروت، محیط سخا، شعله، اضطراب -

Notwithstanding the fact that Bedil has immensely enriched the language by his fresh compounds, some people of Irān as well as of India, object² that here and there Bedil's compounds are uncolloquial. Āzād Bilgrāmī admits that: [A man of lofty nature alone can understand Bedil], but he joins these detractors, and says that in the following couplet:³

هر گاه دو تدم خرام می کشت از انگشتم عصا بکف داشت

Bedil's idiom خرام کاشتن is objectionable. Again Āzād Bilgrāmī says that in the following couplet⁴ written by Bedil on the happy occasion of the marriage of Mīr Luṭfullah Khān:

اوقات سعادت دو کوکب شیرازه آفت دو همزاد

the use of the word همزاد for the husband and the wife is not warranted. But Khān Ārzū has justified⁵ such like innovations in his *Dād-e-Sakhūn*. Khushgū, however, steers a midway course and says,⁶ "Granted that at the most about one thousand couplets of Bedil are objectionable from this point of view, but what about the rest? Can someone favourably compete with him there?"

3. *Freshness of similes and metaphors.* All the Tāzagū poets showed taste and skill in finding fresh similes and metaphors. It is in the employment of these figures that Bedil's imagination is seen at its best. The following instances would suffice:

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنها سر آبی و سر روغنها

[What is this garden and its blossoming?

—Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

دل فرهاد آب تیغ کوه است سر مجنون گل داسان صحراست

[Farhad's heart is the splendour of the mountain's peak,

And the head of Majnūn is the flower in the Skirt of the
Saharā.]

1. Shibli, *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, III.

2. Husain Quli Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, I, Mss., f. 203a-207a.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153.

4. Ibid., 156-7.

5. Khān Ārzū, *Majma' ul Nafā'is*, Mss., f. 56-a; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna-e-'Āmirah*, p. 153.

6. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May, 1942, pp. 368-9.

4. *Division of verses*, having the same measure, sometimes mutually rhyming and at times rhymeless. This peculiarity lends sweetness, charm, and force and vigour to the verses, and is the result of perfect mastery over language. It is surprising that, in spite of these self-imposed limitations of rhyming parts and the measure, no superfluous word is found in Bedil's verses.

صف رنگ لاله لبم شکن ، منی جام گل یزمین فگن
به بهار دامن ناز زن ، زحنائی دست نگار ما

[Break the row of the tulip's colour, throw the cup of the rose down on the ground,

And strike the skirt of indifference against the spring, because of the dyed hands of our Beauty.]

خنده لبریز ملاحه ، جلوه مالا مال حسن ناز سرشار جفاها ، غمزه مخمور عتاب
[My beloved has] smiles full of agreeableness, appearance rich in beauty,

Coquetry overflowing with molestation, and blandishment drunk with chiding.]

5. *Novelty of expression* (جدت بیان). By expressing common facts and ordinary ideas in a novel and unusual way, 'Urfī and Nazrī had lent elegance and fascination to their verse. Also sublimer thoughts were expressed in this manner and maximum effect was produced. Bedil too excelled in this respect :

همت من از نشان جاه چون ناوک گذشت
زین نگین نام نگاهی بود کز عینک گذشت

[My highmindedness passed the mark of dignity like an arrow, My name was a look which passed through this stone (نگین) as if it were spectacles.]

صد سنگ شد آئینه و صد قطر، گهر بست
اقسوس همان خانه خراست دل ما

[A hundred stones turned into mirrors and numberless drops changed into pearls, but

Alas my heart is as desolate as ever.]

6. *Aptness of illustration* (مثالیه). Šāib in particular had wielded this figure with great dexterity. In it some theory is advanced in the first hemistich which is supported by a very apt illustration in the second. This figure, herefore, can be usefully employed in didactic poetry and in establishing truths of eternal value. Šāib died¹ when Bedil was twenty-six years old. During his youth, therefore, Bedil was breathing in the society which was all praise for this figure and hence his fondness for it. There are very few Ghazals of Bedil

in which at least one or two couplets are not couched in this figure. Bedil calls *مثالیه* a wave of subtlety *سوج نزاکت* :

بیدل از هر مصرعه ام موج نزاکت می چکد
کرده ام رنگین بخون صید لاغر تیغ را

[Bedil, out of every hemistich of mine a wave of subtlety trickles down,

I have dyed the sword with the blood of a lean prey.]

This verse occurs in a *ghazal* which overflows with this figure. Three couplets of this kind may now be studied :

از فردیپ مگر دنیا اعل ترک آسوده اند
دام راه تشنگان می باشد اسواج مراب

[Those who have practised renunciation are reposeful in spite of the deceiving tricks of the world.

It is the thirsty people who are ensnared by the waves of the mirage.]

در بزمگاه عشق هوس را محال نیست
تا شعله گرم جلوه شود دود جسته است

[Into the assembly of love sensuality has no access.

When the flame is hot in self-display, smoke leaps away.]

زیر گردون چون سحر دریک نفس گردیم پیر
می شود موی اسیران زود در زندان سفید

[Under the sky we grow old in a moment as the morning does.

True, the hair of the prisoners turn quickly grey, in the prison.]

7. *Poetical aetiology* (حسن تعلیل). In this figure facts and events are interpreted in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused. Bedil's contemporaries were very fond of it. The following two verses are cited as example from Bedil's *Ghazals* :

عمریست دل بغفلت خود گریه می کند
این نامه میسد چه قدر ابر رحمت است

[For long my heart has been weeping bitterly on account of its negligence.

This black document is in fact the vernal compassionate cloud.]

این قدر تعظیم نیرنگ خم ابروی کیست
حیرت است از قبله رو گرداندن محرابها

[For the elegant arch of whose eyebrows is there so much respect?

I am surprised to see the *Mihrābs* of the mosque turning their faces away from the *Qibla*.]

8. *Original and subtle conceits* (معانی، لطیف و مبتکر). Bedil is known for the success which his penetrating intellect attained in finding striking poetical thoughts. Āzād Bilgrāmī says¹ that from his early youth to the end of his life, Bedil consistently tried to produce ingenious thoughts. Sarkhush² quotes Bedil saying that with him (Bedil) versification was synonymous to finding original conceits. In his ghazals Bedil makes numerous references about his amazing skill in معنی آفرینی; for example:

چنین کز کلک بارنگ معانی می چکد بیدل
توان گفتن رگ ابر بهار این نا و دانهارا

بیدل از فطرت ما قصر معانیست بلند
پایه دارد سخن از کرسی اندیشه ما

می گذارد بر دماغ یک جهان معنی قدم
لغزشی کز خابۀ تحریر من پیدا شود

معنی برجسته شوقم نمی گنجم بلفظ
همچو بوی گل نگر در پیرهن عریان سرا

نشستی عمرها حسرت، کین لفظ پردازی
زخون گشتن زمانی غازه شو حسن معانی را

In these verses Bedil speaks boastfully about the grace which his conceits have. He claims that the grandeur of the ingenious thoughts in the world is simply due to his penetrating genius, and that he is so prolific in this respect that even a slip from his pen creates a world of such like thoughts. As he finds his mind overflowing with subtle and original conceits, he says that words are but poor vehicles for his thoughts and that they cannot contain them. Naturally enough, he exhorts himself to attend less to the words and to work with greater keenness for the glorification of the Ma'ānī. I will now quote verses to show Bedil's proficiency in this connection:

عمریست درین انجمن از ضعف دو تائیم
خلیخال رسانید پیانی مگس از ما

[For long out of weakness my body has been bent in this world.

I may now be used as an anklet for the ankles of the fly.]

رگ گل آئین شوخی کین صید ما دارد
که زیر سنگ دست از سایه رنگ حنا دارد

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 143.

2. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 34.

[The mirthful beloved, whose sleeve is made of the tender
arteries of rose, wants to capture me.

(But she is so delicate) that she would find her hand under
the stone, on account of the shadow of hena's colour.]

Sometimes Bedil's conceits are so subtle that one is afraid they may
evaporate if the slightest possible carelessness is shown :

مبجو آوازۀ شهرت ز آهنگ سبکرواحان
صدای بال مرغ رنگ نبود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of
nimble-spirited people.

When the bird of colour flits its wings make no noise.]

بیاد شبنم گلزار عارضت عمریست
خیال مشق شناسی کند بمشک گلاب

[In memory of the dew drops of the rose-garden of her
cheeks, it is ages since

My thought has been floating in the sweet smell of rose-
water.]

In these verses the ideas have been given a lifelike touch. Material-
isation of the spiritual and the intellectual is one of the characteristics
of Bedil. Moreover, we see that at times Bedil creates a conceit
out of his own Takhalluṣ :

من و تاب وصال و طاقت دوری چه حرفست این
اسیری را که عشقت خواند بیدل دل کجا دارد

[How can I possess courage for union and strength for
separation?

A captive who has been called Bedil (without-heart), how can
he have *dil* (heart)?]

People have criticised Bedil by saying that sometimes he indulges in
farfetched, insipid, or pedantic conceits, but so long as fancy has its
value in literature, Bedil's conceits will not lose their flavour.

9. *Grace and fluency of language and fullness of expression.* If
couplets of Bedil are selected and arranged under this heading, one is
surprised to know how a poet celebrated for his conceits could impart
such fluency and grace to his verse and how his language could be so
richly eloquent. Not only selected verses but also many complete
ghazals of Bedil possess this marvellous virtue. I would very much
like to quote at length, but space does not permit :

نه بدامنی ز حیا رسد نه بدستگاه دعا رسد
چو رسد به نسبت پارسه کف دست آبله دارما

[Out of modesty it can neither reach the skirt nor have the strength to rise in prayer.

If my blistered hand at all can, it has relationship with the (beloved's) feet.]

گاه آهم می رباید گاه اشکم می برد
قد من یک مشت خاک و این همه سیلابها

[Sometimes sighs carry me off, and at times tears take me away.

I am but a handful of dust in the midst of so many storms.]

برگست لب از چمنستان تبسم موجیست نگاه تو زعمان تغافل
گیسوی تو مد الف آیت خوبی — ابروی تو بسم الله دیوان تغافل

[Your lip is a petal from the garden of smiles, and
Your look is a wave from the Oman gulf of feigned negligence.

Your tress is the long-drawn letter Alif (الف) of the Āyat (verse) of fairness, and

Your eyebrows are the Bismillah (opening verse) of the Diwān of negligence.]

10. *Lyricism.* Husain Qulī Khān, the author of the *Tagkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, has collected those verses of every poet which speak of erotic love; but he complains¹ that Bedil's verses of this kind could not be found in sufficient numbers as his ghazals have only conceits. As already pointed out, Bedil is comprehensive, and, therefore, when we go through his ghazals, we come across a large number of verses which sing most charmingly of female love. There we find descriptions of the beauty points, of the lovely face and the tall and waving stature of the beloved. The same old topics of separation, union, envy, etc., have been re-stated by Bedil, using fresh similes and metaphors, of course with a deeper touch of emotion. Dr. Rieu² says that, in his *Biāz*, Bedil has given his own *Masnavi* descriptive of female beauty, but unfortunately that *Biāz* is not available at present. I shall, however, quote relevant verses from Bedil's ghazals:

بهر کجا ناز سر بر رد نیازهم پای گم ندارد
تو و خراسی و صد تغافل من و نگاه صد تشنا

1. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nishtar-e-'Ishq*, No. 6, 207-8.

2. Rieu, *London Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Nos. 16802, 16803.

[Wherever coquetry appears, entreaties also are not absent, You should walk gracefully with a hundred ways of figure-negligence, and I would cast a look having a hundred supplications.]

دشنام ازان لعل شنیدم که سپرسید میخواست که سنگم زند آخر بگرزد

[Don't ask about the charm of the bad names I heard from those ruby lips.

My beloved wanted to stone me but instead threw pearls on me.]

دوا خواه تو دیدم هر کرا دیدم درین گشن

ز گل رنگ تو می جوشد ز گل بوئی تو می آید

[It was your well-wisher, whom ever I saw in this garden.

Your colour is seen boiling in the rose, and for smell the wine is indebted to you.]

It will be seen that these verses constitute best specimens of lyricism. When, however, lyricism begins to wane, Bedil's art steps in and makes up the deficiency. Then, as Niāz Fatahpurī has pointed¹ out, a sweet and harmonious blending of Art and Lyricism takes place, and, although the emotional element has diminished, the verses are as fascinating as ever. For example :

باغی که بهارش همه سنگ است دل او

دشتی که غبارش همه آب است دل ما

[The garden, whose spring consists entirely of stone, is the beloved's heart; and

The Sahara whose dust is all water is our heart.]

Here the words سنگ و غبار and باغ و دشت 'سنگ و غبار و آب', 'بهار و سنگ', although contraries, have been brought together in such a way by the figure antithesis that we feel an irresistible charm.

11. *Sense of beauty* (احساس حسن). This sense is common to all poets, but only a few have distinguished themselves in this respect. Bedil appeared in India at a time when the Mughal Art was at full bloom, and its brilliance, grandeur, and grace had reached their climax in Shāh Jahān's architecture. Naturally his aesthetic taste developed, drawing sustenance from the colourful images he received while studying Persian poetry, which is rich in this taste, and also while travelling here and there and observing beautiful objects. There is no space here for a detailed discussion of his aesthetic taste, but very few poets in the world compare favourably with Bedil in this respect. He has an eye for the rich gorgeous colouring of the peacock, which he saw in hundreds near Mathura, and also he can

appreciate the light rainbow tints, which he observed now and again during the monsoon rains. Sometimes the intellectual has been beautifully brought down to the level of the sensible. A few verses of this nature may now be studied :

آمد زگلشن ناز آن جوهر تبسم دل در کف تغافل گل بر سر تبسم

[From the garden of coquetry came that essence of smiles,
With heart on the palm of negligence, and over smiles the
rose.]

خط آن لعل دود خرمن ما رم آن چشم برق حاصل کیست

[The down on the ruby lip is the smoke of our harvest, but
Whose gain will the flash of that eye strike as lightning?]

زخار هر مژه صد رنگ موج گل جوشد بدیده گر گزرافتنه خیال روئی ترا

[From the thorn of every eyelash a wave of flowers of
variegated colour would burst,
If the thought of your face passes my eyes.]

بفکر تازه گویان گر خیالم بر تو اندازد بر طاؤس گردد جدول اوراق دیوانها

[If my fancy casts only a reflection on the thoughts of Tāzagū
poets,
The marginal lines on the leaves of their Diwāns would
change into peacock feathers.]

12. رعایت لفظی و معنوی. Comparison of the same words in different contexts producing some striking effect, or of the same ideas expressed in a different way or in an improved manner, is very much appreciated by the lovers of poetry.

In Bedil both of these peculiarities are found in their perfect form. He is very fond of using the word آئینه again and again. The following two couplets, having this word, have been regarded the best in this connection :

یار در آغوش و نام او نمی دانم که چیست
سادگی ختم است چرخ آئینه برنسیان ما

[My beloved is in my arms, but I do not know her name.
Like the mirror my forgetfulness is beyond help.]

بدل نقشی نمی بندد که با وحشت نه پیوندد
نمی دانم کدا من بی وفا آئینه چید اینجا

[No image is formed in the heart which does not betray
fright.

I do not know which faithless person placed the mirror
here.]

Another couplet of this type is still more attractive:

من بعد تا کنم از حسرت دیدار اینائی بحیرت می روم آئینه بر پیغام می بندم

[In order to give a hint to the messenger about my longing
for the vision of the beloved,

I lapse into bewilderment and thus tie the mirror on the
message].

As regards the same ideas expressed differently I quote below two
verses about the winning ways of the beloved. See the improvement
effected in the second verse.

تش اگر ز گرمی خویشت نشان دهد انگشت زینهار کشد از دهانه ها

[If fire points to the warmth of your nature,

At the same time by its flames it raises a finger in caution.]

و خون گشته نیرنگ و ضم ناز کیست غمزه دارد دور باش و جلوه می گوید بیا

[My desire has been enchanted by the charming manners of
whose coquetry?

Blandishments ask to keep away while the splendour of
beauty invites to come nearer.]

13. *Pet words.* Like every poet, Bedil has some pet words. This
peculiarity has been noted¹ by Qārī 'Abdullah Khān of Kābul also.
The words are :

آئینه ، جوهر ، حیرت ، تحیر ، بری ، شیشه ، بینا ، سحر ، گریبان ، صبح ،
نس ، تعین ، رنگ ، شکست شرر ، آبله ، رگ خواب ، رگ سنگ ، دو عالم ،
یک -

The last two words are particularly used in forming combinations.

14. *Pet metres.* In one of his letters we find Bedil asking one
Mīrzā Fāzil for a Persian violin.² Moreover, one of his closest
associates, Shāikh Sa'dullah Gulshan, was an expert musician,³ and
also his favourite pupil, Ahmad 'Ibrat, belonged⁴ to a family of
professional singers. This shows Bedil's interest in music and melody.
It is because of this that he seems to have taken pains for imparting
rhythm and melody to his verses. As in Bedil's ghazals the sound of

1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 178.

2. Bedil, *Ruqa'sāt*, p. 90.

3. Shāir Khān Lochī, *Mīr'at ul Khayāl*, pp. 372-3.

words comes to its full power, the Qawwāls, especially in Afghānistān, are heard singing his ghazals in convivial meetings or sober assemblies and also on the radio, and a magical effect is produced.

When Bedil was so particular about the sounds of the words used in his verses, it was quite natural if he developed an interest for metres suiting different occasions. *Khushū* says¹ that Bedil successfully manipulated all the metres given in the books on Prosody. But here also Bedil's preference for the longer metres, which were popular with the Arabs, though the Persians rarely employed them, earned a name for him. Inspired by Bedil other poets also turned their attention towards these metres, and we see Mīr Muḥammad Husain Kalām—an Urdu poet—cultivating longer metres in imitation² of Bedil. Abul Kalām Āzād, a modern scholar of Urdu, becomes voluble when he speaks³ about the longer metres of Bedil. It is a fact that when we read and recite Bedil's ghazals in these metres, a tide of excitement runs through mind, and, in the words⁴ of Richards, there is a cyclic agitation which spreads all over the body. A careful reader will also note that, in spite of the length of the metres, there is nothing redundant in the verses. The metres are :

(i) بحر کامل—*the perfect octametre.*

تو کریم مطاقی و من گدا چه کنی جز این که نخوانیم
در دیگری بنما که من بکجا روم چو برانیم
مفاعلهن مفاعلهن مفاعلهن مفاعلهن

(ii) بحر متدارک—*the continuous metre.* It is called *کشی الخیل* (the prancing of horses) and *صوت اناقوس* (the bell's sound) also. It has eight feet in each hemistich.

چه بود سروکار غلط سبقتان در علم و عمل بفسانه زدن
زغرور دلائل بی خردی همه تیز خطا به نشانه زدن
فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن فعلن

(iii) بحر مطوی مشمن—*the folded octametre.*

منفعلام بر که برم حاجت خویش از بر تو
ای قدمت بر سر من چون سر من بر در تو
مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن

(iv) بحر خفیف مشمن—*the light octametre.*

به تماشائی این جهان در مژگان دراز کن
زخمستان عاقبت قدحی گیر و ناز کن
فعلاتن مفاعلهن فعاتن مفاعلهن

1. *Khushū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 376.

2. Qāsim Qudratullah, *Majmū'a-e-Nāḥiz*, II, p. 140.

3. Mīr Taqī, *Nihātuth Shu'arā*, p. 45.

4. Abul Kalām Āzād, *Ghazāl-e-Khālīl*, p. 41.

5. Richards, I.A., *Principles of Literary Criticism*, p. 140.

(v) *بحر متقارب*—the convergent metre. It has eight feet in one hemistich.

اگر جهان جمله نقد زائد ز فکر جوع تو بر نیاید
مگر چو آماج لب کشاید ز عضو عضو خدنگ خوردن
فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل فعل

Here فعل and فعلن, two deviations of the original فعلن, have been employed.

15. *Abstruseness of his verses.* As Bedil condenses a broad idea in a single verse, some relevant pieces are left out which Bedil expects the reader would think out for himself. In this couplet :

میرود از موج برباد فنا نقش حجاب
تیغ خرنخوار است بیدل چین پیشانی مرا

Bedil likens himself to حجاب, and the frowns of his beloved to موج, but as there is no clear indication, it is not very easy to comprehend this relation. Sometimes the correlated phrases in a verse are placed at a distance from one another. Again at times Bedil's conceits are far-fetched and his language is not colloquial. All these factors taken together make many verses of Bedil obscure and abstruse,¹ and in some cases his verses become absolutely incomprehensible. I give below a few verses which are not at all intelligible.²

در مزاج دانه آماده است تاثیر زمین
حیز کم پیدا شود گرز نژاید مرد را

حیات دمر و حواس خلأقی آئینه دارد
که این هوسکده نزدیک شش است دو پنجش

عمریست گرمی تدحش باده پرور است
شیری که چون سحر بد نفس سرد می کنم

In view of the abstruseness caused in some of Bedil's verses, owing to the various factors mentioned above, some eminent Tazkirah-writers have suggested that someone, well versed in Persian literature, should prepare a selection³ of Bedil's verses avoiding all those couplets which have objectionable elements. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that if such a selection is made a very elegant and highly fascinating collection of Persian verse would be obtained.

16. *Dotless ghazals.* Some letters⁴ as well as Ghazals of Bedil are dotless. Although their number is small, yet they show Bedil's mastery in this figure. The grace and fluency of the verses is

1. Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 178.

2. In the library of Hāfiz Nūr Muḥammad at Kābul, a large number of such like verses have been collected.

3. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150, *Khazāna-e-Āmirah*, p. 153; Qārī 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 181; Wāla-e-Dāgīstānī, *Riāzush Shu'arā*, Mss.

4. Bedil, *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow edition.

particularly noteworthy :

که دهد مصباح کلام دل که مدد گر گل طالعم
سحر آردند رعد آورد غسل آردند همه هم رسد

دل آواره ام طور رم آسوده دارد
اگر گرد ملال آورد صحرارا ارم کردم

17. *Several Ghazals in the same measure having the same rhyme.* Mullā Zuhūrī was in the habit of showing¹ his mastery over language by writing more than one mutually rhyming Ghazals in the same metre. Similarly, Bedil too displayed his superior skill by writing two to five² Ghazals of this kind. It is noteworthy that almost every Ghazal of this kind maintains its independence from the point of view of emotional, ideational, or literary content.

18. *Consistency in thought.* Although originally Ghazal was a part of the Qasīda and had continuity and harmony, yet, when separated, it became a jumble of incongruous couplets. Love and enmity, joy and sorrow, union and separation, good luck and misfortune, in short, all the discordant ideas were expressed, of course with the necessary change in emotion, in the same Ghazal. This made it absolutely unnatural. Sa'dī observed this defect in Ghazal and introduced³ consistency. Amīr Khusrāu, Nazīrī, and Zuhūrī followed⁴ him. Bedil too wrote a large number of Ghazals, having singleness of purpose, which can be seen in his Diwān.

19. *Prolificness.* We have seen above the extent of Bedil's dominion over verse from the literary point of view. Apart from the quality of his Ghazals, their quantity also is surprising. Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of *Mir'at ul Khayāl*, writing in 1102 A.H., said⁵ that Bedil's Diwān had 20,000 couplets. Sarkhush compiled his *Kalimātush Shu'arā* in 1093 A.H., but kept⁶ replenishing it till 1115 A.H. He says that Bedil is a boundless ocean (بحری ساحل) and that only the ردف بیم of his Diwān has 5,000 verses. Khushgū wrote his *Safīnā* after Bedil's death and there we learn that Bedil's Ghazals have⁷ in all about 55,000 couplets. This shows Bedil's prolificness, and at the same time we incidentally learn that the most productive period of Bedil's life was after 1102 A.D. (1690-1 A.D.).

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 150.

2. Qāṣi 'Abdullah Khān, *Adabiyāt*, p. 182.

3. Hālī, *Hayāt-e-Sa'dī*, pp. 95-107.

4. Wahed Mirzā, *Life and Works of Khusrāu*, p. 206.

5. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'at ul Khayāl*, p. 385.

6. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 14.

7. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 376.

From the foregoing statement of the peculiarities of Bedil we come to know that he had a wonderful mastery over language, his creative imagination made an elegant contribution to Persian literature—a contribution whose freshness can never fade—and that *Sabuk-e-Hindī*, the style developed in India by the Persian poets, reached the *acme* of perfection in Bedil's hands. These facts have been noted by various scholars of repute and they, therefore, consider him one of the master-poets of Persian. His friends as well as his rivals and detractors share this view. *Sarkhush*, Bedil's rival, says,¹ "Bedil is a master, of the Art." *Khushgu*,² Bedil's friend and pupil, writes, "In this Art Bedil is one of those master-poets, who have a style of their own." And again, "Bedil stands peerless in creating a style." Anand Rām *Mukhlis* was a very learned pupil of our poet. He says,³ "Bedil has adorned the page of Time with verses of all kinds and very subtle figures. Everywhere the people talk about him and he is known in all the lands. It is a fact that, after Amīr *Khusrāu* of Dehlī no poet was born in India who could match Bedil."

These were contemporaries. After Bedil's death many *Tazkirahs* were written and all the writers paid equally glowing tributes to him. *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, in his *Sarw-e-Āzād* as well as in his *Khazāna-e-Āmirah*, praises⁴ Bedil wholeheartedly. He accords him a lofty position in verse and says none has the requisite mental vigour to compete with Bedil. He eulogises Bedil in a couplet too :

رساند پایده معنی با سمان نهم بلند طبع شناسد کلام بدیل را

[He raised the rank of conceits to the ninth heaven

Only a high-minded person can appreciate Bedil's verse.]

If the views of all the *Tazkirah*-writers are given the attempt will result in tedious and monotonous details. I would, therefore, give here only the translation of what the author of *Chamnistān-e-Shū'arā*, writing in 1175 A.H. (1761-2 A.D.), said⁵ about Bedil's Art. He has beautifully summed up all that the others say in this connection :

"Abdul Qādir Bedil is a *Mānī* who paints the *Arzhang* of conceits, and a *Euclid* who works magic in verse. The East of subtle thoughts has been eternally illuminated by the resplendent Sun of his genius, and the orchard of sweet discourse has been lavishly adorned by the melody of his wit which, like the nightingale, recites a thousand tales. The eye of the mean Time has not seen such a majestic person of refined ideas, although it has the torch of the Sun in its hands; and also the azure sky has not heard about

1. *Sarkhush*, *Kalimātush Shū'arā*, p. 14.

2. *Khushgu*, in *Ma'ārif*, May and July 1942.

3. *Mukhlis*, Anand Rām, *The page written in his hand*, I. 1.

4. *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 148; *Khazāna-e-Āmirah*, pp. 152, 153.

5. *Shaffiq*, Lachhmi Narain, *Chamnistān-e-Shū'arā*, p. 43.

such a sweet-tongued seeker of conceits although there exist the planets as its ears. It is befitting if I call his genius the spring of life, because verse owes its life to it; and it is right if I consider his pen to be a vernal cloud, because every dot in his writings is superior to the pearls. In fact in the territories of India such an accomplished poet has never been born, and the brush of the Whyless Painter has not so far portrayed the match of this captivating seeker of thoughts."

From these remarks it is apparent what a unique position Bedil has in Persian literature. His consummate creative powers have after all been recognised in Iran too. Dr. Razā Zāda Shafaq says,¹ "Bedil is the last renowned Indian poet of genius. In fact in the mystic Ghazals, in elegant verse, and in the Maṣnavī he has shown perfect skill and has placed before us the best model of Indian style (سبک شناسی)." Bedil's own opinion, about his style, would be of infinite interest at the close of this discourse. He says :

مدعی در گذر از دعوی طرز بیدل سحر مشکل که بکینیت اعجاز رسد

[O Pretender ! give up your claims to Bedil's style.

It is impossible for the magic to have the qualities of a miracle.]

With such a high opinion about his style, he hopes he will enjoy everlasting fame :

سخن تا در جهان باقیست از معدومی آزادم
زبان گفتگوها بال پرواز است عتقا را

[So long as verse lives in the world I cannot cease to exist, for

The tongue of discourses serves as the wing for the flight of the Phoenix.]

So far we were concerned only with the literary side of Bedil's Ghazals. We should now try to find out the basic idea round which his entire verse revolves. The entire life-story of Bedil is before our eyes and we know that he was out and out a mystic fired with Divine Love. In his childhood he lived in the society of mystics and learnt the Secrets of the Path from them. When he was grown up and he left his home-province Bihār for Shāh Jahānābād, he came in contact with 'Aqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān, who were mystics,² and who had a thorough knowledge of the Maṣnavī of Rūmī. We also know about Bedil's fondness³ for Sanāī, 'Attār, Rūmī, Sa'dī, 'Irāqī, Hāfiz and Jāmī—the great mystic poets. In addition to this Dr. Rieu tells us that in the Biāz of Bedil, in the London Museum, the tract,

1. Shafaq, Dr. Razā Zāda, Tārikh-e-Adabiyāt-e-Īrān, p. 179.

2. Pages 45 and 84, *supra*.

3. Pages 183-5, *supra*.

Zād al-'Arifīn by Khwāja 'Abdullah Anṣārī, is given in six Bābs (chapters). Khwāja Šāhib is known in particular for his Munājāt or supplications, which he makes in all humility to God the Almighty. The influence of these supplications on Bedil is manifest from his Ghazal beginning with the following verse :

تو کریم مطلق و من گدا چه کنی جز این که نتوانیم
در دیگری بنما که من بکجا روم چو برا نیم
[You are Generous Absolute, O God, and I am a beggar.
Do nothing except calling me. Or,
Show me the door whither I should turn if You drive me
away.]

Moreover, the great al-Ghazālī, whose philosophic² type of mysticism and sincerity appeal alike to the intellectual type and the common-folk, also counts³ among the mystic writers who have influenced Bedil. The cumulative effect of all this was that mysticism became the life-blood of Bedil and his basic sentiment was love for God. He says :

بی زمزمه حمد تو قانون سخن را افسوده چو خون رگ تار است بیابها
[Without the hymn in Your praise O God, the dulcimer of
verse

Shall produce a melancholy note from its strings.]

Bedil's verse is thus quite lifeless, if he does not sing in love and praise of God.

Like all Šūfis, Bedil starts with a purification of his soul, and, as a preliminary to his love for God, he wants to purge himself of all other love. As a consequence he has no love for the world and its objects, for the family or a dwelling, and even for his own person :

دل اگر در جهد کوشد مفت احرام صفاست
هم بقدر صیقل است آب وضو آئینه را
[If the heart tries it can quite easily have the pilgrim's garb
of purity.

According to the degree of its polish, the mirror has water for ablutions.]

تا صافی دلت غم اسباب می کشد
آئینه صندلی کن و از درد سر برآمد

1. Tābinda Ganabadi, *Rarāi* by Kh. 'Abdullah Anṣārī Preface, pp. ب to ب;
Browne, E. G., *Literary History of Persia*, II, pp. 269-72. Šaikhul Islām Khwāja
'Abdullah Anṣārī (395-481 A.H.) of Herāt was a descendant of Ayyūb Anṣārī, the
famous companion of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). The Khwāja was a
celebrated mystic and author of several works.

2. Smith, M., *Al-Charāṭī*, p. 227.

3. Page 119, supra.

[As your heart is impure you grieve about the goods
Polish your mirror with sandal and be relieved of the
headache.]

عیش ترک خائیان از مردم آزاد برس
کس نداند جز صدا قدر شکست شیشه را

[About the joy of renouncing the abode ask of the free people.
None but the sound knows the value of the breaking of a
mirror.]

جوهر تجرید ترک الفت خویش است و بس
بر سر خود می توان کرد استحال شمشیر را

[Nothing but renunciation of love for one's self is the sub-
stance of contemplative abstraction.]

[The sword should be tested on one's own head.]

The considerations of the Ka'ba or the monastery, of the rosary
and the girdle, of the faith and infidelity, and of the hell and the
paradise no longer detain him, for he is enamoured only of God,
and ardently desires to have His Vision :

اگر از دیرو ارسیم شوق کبید پیش آمد
تنگدوی نفس یارب کجا هائی برد مارا

[If we got freedom from the monastery, love of Ka'ba
attracted us.]

O God, where does the striving of self lead us to ?]

گراز زنار و ارسیم فکر سجد پیش آمد
نفس مصروف چندین ریشه دارد تخم آدم را

[Having been freed from the girdle, regard for the rosary
detained us.]

Life keeps the son of Adam busy with so many strings.]

بی نیازی از تمیز کفر و دین آزاد بود
از کجا جوشید با رب اختراع تنگ جا

[Indifference made no distinction between infidelity and
faith.]

From where, O God, the invention of false honour came
into being ?]

جلوه بشتاقم بهشت و دوزخم بنظر نیست
میروم از خویش در هر جا که می خوانی مرا

[I am anxious for the vision. I care not for the paradise
and the hell.]

Wherever You call me, I absorb myself in Thy contem-
plation.]

Sorrows and pleasures do not affect him. Honour and dishonour have

no significance for him. He would rather prefer dishonour¹ because it helps annihilate the evil self in him. And in him all the world's passions and desires are extinguished :

رنج و غم شادی میر کو مطرب و کو نوحه گر
مشت سیند بیخبر دارد درین مجمر صدا

[Sorrows and pleasures should not influence you, for where is the minstrel or the mourner ?

Only a handful of ignorant wild rue is making noise in this censer.]

مجو آوازه شهرت ز آهنگ سبک روحان
صدای بال مرغ رنگ بنود در پریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people.

When the bird of colour flies, its wings make no noise.]

نگین شهرتی می خواست اقبال جنون من
ز چندین کوه کردم منتخب سنگ ملامت را

[The height of my madness wanted the rich stone of popularity.

Out of so many hills I selected the stone of dishonour (blame).]

گر آرزو شکند می شود عمارت دل
شکست موج بود باعث بنائی حباب

[If the desires fade away, the edifice of heart is built.

The breaking of the wave creates the bubble.]

All these were stages of passing away (فنا). After self-surrender self-devotion begins and our Ṣūfī devotes himself exclusively to God. Concentration upon the thought of God engenders bewilderment: (حیرت) and this absorbs him completely. Although at this stage there is some sadness and anxiety, yet earlier excessive crying and violent agitation is gone, for the lover's gaze is now fixed on the beauty of the Absolute and he has been given access to the hidden secrets.

سر سودائی ما را غم دستار کی پیچد
که همچون غنچه از بویت بطوفان می رود سرما

[Our melancholy heads are not perplexed by the worries of turban ;

For, like the bud, by Your smell our heads have gone stormy.]

1. Hujwiri, Sayyid 'Alī, *Kashful Mahjūb* (Trans. Nicholson), pp. 52-69. I: is a chapter on blame propounding the theory, that "Blame has a great effect in making love sincere." Reference to *malāmat* (blame) in these verses shows that Bedil belonged to the sect of the *malāmatis*.

در چار سوئی دهر گذر کرد خیالت
لبریز شد از حیرت آئینه دکانهها

[Your thought went through the four corners of the world,
and

The shops have thus been filled by the bewilderment of the
mirrors.]

نسبت آئینه از ما قطع کردن مشکل است
حسن تا آئینه دارد حیرت آبادیم ما

[It is impossible to end our relation with the mirror.

So long as the Beauty has mirror, we are filled with bewilder-
ment.]

سیماب را ز آئینه پای گریز نیست
دارد تحیرم به قفس اضطراب را

[Quicksilver cannot separate itself from the mirror.

My bewilderment, therefore, has restlessness in the cage.]

طییدن راه ندارد در تجلی گه حیرانی
توان گر پائی تا سورا شک شد نتوان چکید اینجا

[Agitation has no access to the illuminated place of bewilder-
ment,

Even if you completely change into tears, you cannot drop
here.]

در بیابان تحیر نم ز چشم ما مخواه
بی نیاز از اشک می دان دیده تصویر را

[In the wilderness of bewilderment do not expect moisture
from us.

The eye of the portrait is indifferent to tears.]

ای ز شوخیهای حسنت محو پیچ و تابها
حیرت اندر آئینه چون موج در گردابها

[On account of the gaiety of your beauty agitation of the
heart is no more.

Bewilderment in the mirror is like the wave in the flood.]

از حیرت دل بند نقاب تو کشودیم
آئینه سگری کار کمی نیست در اینجا

[With the bewilderment of the heart we united the strings
of your veil.

Here making a mirror is not an ordinary job.]

In this state of mind our Sūfi passes away from action, because it
is only humility and resignation that pay :

بلند است آنقدرها آشیان عجز ما بیدل
که بی سحری شکست بال و پر نتوان رسید اینجا

[So elevated is the nest of my helplessness, O Bedil !

That it is impossible to reach it without breaking the wings.]

عزت طلبی جوہر تسلیم بدست آر
این جا خم طاعت شکن طرف کلامی است

[If you want honour catch hold of the pearl of resignation.
Here bending in prayer amounts to a proud plait in a side
of the cap.]

Out of the hundred and one problems of mysticism, so profusely and sweetly dealt with by Bedil, I have given hints only about a few. Verses from his *Ghazals* about the states and stages (احوال و مقامات),¹ the necessity of فقر² and the superior status of اهل فقر, the Unitive state when everything other than God appears as an illusion, and other questions relating to mysticism, can be easily collected in large numbers, but an exhaustive treatment of the subject is not the object of this treatise, and I, therefore, pass on to another topic.

Bedil flourished at the time when the ascetic quietism of the earlier Sūfīs had long changed into a theosophic doctrine of mysticism. Al-Ghazzālī and Rūmī, who influenced Bedil to a great extent, were both representatives³ of this type of mysticism. In addition to these two thinkers, Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638 A.H./1164-1240) also has inspired Bedil. Khushgū says⁴ that most of the propositions dealt with by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his *Fuṣūṣul Hikam* (The Bezels of Divine Wisdom) were expressed again in detail by Bedil. On the other hand, we observe another very important circumstance which influenced Bedil considerably. Only a few years before the birth of our poet, religious thought in India had been completely revolutionised by Mujaddid-e-Aḥ-e-ṣānī Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī (971-1034 A.H./1563-1624 A.D.) who had taught beyondness⁵ of God in opposition to the pantheism of Ibn al-ʿArabī. As Bedil lived in the society where teachings and stories of the Mujaddid were still fresh, he imbibed the spirit of the Great Reformer. Shaikh Saʿdullah Gulshan,

1. احوال (States): Meditation, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing, intimacy, tranquillity, contemplation, and certainty.

مقامات (Stages): Repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God, and satisfaction.

See Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, pp. 28, 29.

2. فقر Means supreme indifference to the rewards the world has to offer. Nay, it goes even a step further. It includes indifference to the rewards of the next world also.

3. For Al-Ghazzālī see Smith, M., *Al-Ghazali*, p. 227. For Rūmī see Khalifa ʿAbdul Ḥakīm, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*.

4. Khushgū, in *Maʿārif*, May 1942, p. 368.

5. Ibn al-ʿArabī believed in Pantheism, see Maulvi Husaini, *Ibn al-ʿArabī*, pp. 51-75; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, some notes on the *Fuṣūṣul Hikam*.

6. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd*, pp. 79-91.

a close associate of Bedil, was a disciple of Shāh Gul—a descendant of the Mujaddid. If nothing else, this fact alone is sufficient to confirm the statement made here. Side by side with this, the following verses of Bedil reveal that he had a high opinion about Plato and Ibn e Sīnā (Avicenna):

نخواند طفل جنون مزاجم خطی زیست و بلند هستی
شوم فلاطون ملک دانش اگر شناسم سراز کف پا

لاف دانش جزیه معنی جاه نتوان پیش برد
بو علی هم شهرت علم از کر و فر یافته

From what I have said in this paragraph, one arrives at the conclusion that, to comprehend Bedil's mystical thought properly, one must be conversant with the fundamentals and the evolution of the theosophic element in mysticism and philosophy of Islam. A study of the Ghazals of Bedil shows that, as usual, he has much to say about these topics, but again no detailed treatment of them can be undertaken in these pages, and I would, therefore, be content with a few remarks only.

In his *Metaphysics* Bedil starts with Primeval Unity and talks of creation in the form of emanation. According to the following famous tradition of the Prophet (peace be on him):

كنت كنزا مخفيا فاحببت ان اعرف تَخَلَّاتِ الخلق

[I was a hidden Treasure, and I desired to be known, so I created the creation.]

Absolute Beauty manifested itself in creation. The tradition, therefore, talks of emanation and emphasises the spontaneous² bursting forth of being. Bedil also contributes to this view:

در آن زمان که نبود از زمانه آثاری برون علم و عیان بود ذات اوتنها
نه در حقیقت بختیش خیال شیون نه بر صیغه ذاتیش خط اسماء
بخویشتن نظری کرد و خود بخود بتمود حقیقت همه اشیاء بذات خود یکجا
بصد هزار نظر شد بحسن خود ناظر بصد هزار طلب گشت خویش را جویا
بشوق عرض کمالات معنی اسرار ز کتم غیب خرامید جانب صحر

[When as yet there was no sign of Time,

Beyond the knowledge and the Manifestations only His Essence existed.

Neither in His Pure Reality was there any thought of Attributes,

Nor on the book of His Essence was there the writing of Names.

He looked within Himself, and showed to Himself

The potential reality of all things existing in His Essence.

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, pp. 193-9; Sarkhūsh, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 96.

2. Khalifa 'Abdul Hakīm, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 31, footnote.

He looked at His own Beauty with a hundred thousand eyes,
 and
 With a hundred thousand longings wanted to find Himself.
 With a desire to show the perfection of the meaning of
 mysteries,
 He walked gracefully towards the Sahara from the cover of
 the unseen.]

The last verse in particular underlines pantheism. In these verses we see that the poet's imagination is boldly at work in expounding his Theory of Creation, and whenever and wherever Bedil speaks about it he makes similar bold expressions rich in detail. We know that the Neoplatonists¹ in their attempt to give a unified cosmic order enunciate the Theory of Emanation, which means light emanating from a luminous body or water overflowing a cup, and in this connection they talk about the Universal Intellect. The following couplet of Bedil shows that he too was conversant with the Universal Intellect :

با هر کمال اندکی آشتگی خوش است
 هر چند عقل کل شده ای بی جنون مباش

[With every perfection, there must be some agitation of
 love.

Although you have become the Universal Intellect, don't
 be without madness.]

Ibn Sīna too, in connection with his cosmological order, discusses² Intellects and Heavens, and we know Bedil had much regard³ for his philosophy.

On the one hand Bedil believed in Pantheism—perhaps owing to his studies of Ibn al-'Arabī and Neoplatonism, through translations or commentaries, and on the other hand he talks most emphatically about the Transcendence of God. It is here that we can trace the influence of Mujaddid-e-Sirhindī, who, as stated already, believed in the Transcendent God. A perusal of the following verses of Bedil will show that, like⁴ the Mujaddid, he thinks God is unapproachable, inexperienceable, inexplicable, and unknowable :

1. Armstrong, *The Intelligible Universe in Plotinus*, pp. 49-64.

2. Tūsī, Naṣīrud Dīn, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, pp. 263-281 ; Jamāl Ṣalībā, *Ibn Sīna*, 102-110 ; Faḡal Ḥaq, *Tajalliyāt-e-Ibn Sīna*, p. 174. According to this Theory, God created the First Intellect. This Intellect created the Second Intellect and the first Heaven and so on to the tenth Intellect and the ninth Heaven. The last or the Active Intellect then created the world.

3. Page 154 supra.

4. Fārūqī, *the Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd*, pp. 79-94.

خیال وصل تو بختن دلیل غفلت ماست
کتمان چه صرغه برد در قلمرو مهتاب

[To cherish a desire for union with you is a sign of our ignorance.

What benefit can linen derive from the moonlit domain.]

باکد باید گفت بیدل باجرای آرزو
آنچه دل خواه مست از عالم ادراک نیست

[Whom should I tell, O Bedil, the nature of my desire?
What my heart desires lies beyond the range of human perception.]

بیدل ره حید از تو بعد مرحله دور است
خاموش که آواره وهم اند بیانها

[O Bedil, the path of Divine praise is far from you by a hundred stages.

Be silent, because all expressions are simply the creations of fancy.]

آن کیست شود محرم اظهار و خفایت
آئینه خویشند عیانها و بیانها

[Who can know your known or unknown secrets?

What is manifest or what is hidden does only mirror itself.]

In the face of Immanence and Beyondness of God expressed by Bedil in his Ghazals, we are forced to the conclusion that, like Rūmī and Ghazzālī, he believed in Panentheism² a theory which conceives of an all-embracing Divinity "in whom we live and move and have our being."

These were Bedil's speculations about the relation of creation to God. We should now consider in brief how Bedil philosophises about Divine Love. Bedil says this love is due to the beauty of the Absolute, which, according to the Qur'ānic verse (lv. 29) :

کل يوم هو فی شان

is every day, nay every moment, displayed in a fresh glory :

هر نفس صد رنگ می گیرد عنان جلوه اش
تا کند شوخی عرق آئینه می ریزد حیا

[Every moment a hundred hues hold the reins of His Beauty.
When face of His Vivacity has perspired, the mirror sheds modesty.]

And this love is Universal :

آتش پرست شعله اندیشه ات جگر آئینه دار ذاع عوائتو سینه ها

1. Khālifa 'Abdul Ḥakīm, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 177; Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 73; Smith, *Al-Ghazālī*, p. 234.

2. Nicholson, R.A., *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 27; Krause, in *Metaphysics of Rumi*, p. 161, footnote.

[The liver is the worshipper of the fiery flame of thoughts about you; and

The breasts mirror the heart-sore formed in your love.]

The fire of love when once kindled in a heart is never extinguished. The excitement and restlessness of the lover is everlasting, and the lover himself is made immortal by this undying burning of the heart :

داغ عشقم نیست الفت باتن آسانی مرا
پیچ و تاب شعله باشد نقش پیشانی مرا

[I am love-sore, and have no liking for self-indulgence.

To fret and fume like the flame can be seen printed on my forehead.]

حیات جاودان خواهی گداز عشق حاصل کن
که دل در خون شدن خاصیت آب بقا دارد

[If you want eternal life, develop the consuming qualities of love,

Because the heart, when it bleeds, acquires the properties of the water of life.]

If even a base thing comes in contact with Love, it is sublimated and is transformed into something very noble. "Love of the transient beauty of the phenomenal, therefore, would in this way rise to the noumenal origin of Beauty :

هوس نمائد زبس عشق آن نگارم سوخت
خوشم که شعله این شمع خارخارم سوخت

[No more of sensuality, as the Love of that Beauty has consumed me through and through.

I feel gratified as the flame of this candle has burnt all that remained of sensual desires.]

ماغر عشق مجازم نشه : تحقیق داد
مشت خونم جوش مجنون می زدو منصور شد

[The cup of the love of the phenomenal had the excitement of the noumenal.

The handful of my blood fretted like Majnun but ultimately became Manşūr.]

From the above we conclude¹ that love has great potentialities. It is the cause of the grace and prosperity of the world, and also it adds to Divine Effulgence :

بی عشق مجال است بود رونق هستی
بی جلوه خورشید جهان نامه سیاه است

1. Majnūn was fired with the love of Laila, which stands here for the love of the phenomenal, and Manşūr al-Hallāj was consumed by love of God, as he said : انا الحق (I am God), after a complete self-negation.

[Without love it is impossible for the world to have luster,

as

Without the appearance of the sun the world is but a dark page.]

غافل ز شکست دل عاشق نتوان بود
معموری^۱ امکن بهمن خانه خرابست

[One cannot be negligent of the break caused to the heart of the lover, for

Prosperity of the world depends upon this ruined one.]

عشق اگر در جلو آرد بر تو مقدور را
از گداز دل دهد روغن چراغ طور را

[If love were to make a display of its potential radiance, By its melted heart it could lend oil to the lamp of the Mount Sinai'.]

As such it is far superior to the utilitarian intellect :

عقل رنگ آمیز کی گردد حریف درد عشق
خامه^۲ تصویر نتواند کشیدن ناله را

[How can the fabrications of the intellect prove equal to the pains of Love ?

The brush of the painter can never paint groans.]

In spite of this Bedil does not minimise the importance of intellect. He only wants that even if your intellectual powers have reached the highest point of perfection, you should not be devoid of love, because it lends elegance to all perfection :

با هر کمال اندکی آشفتگی خوش است
هر چند عقل کل شده ای بی جتوں میانش

[With every perfection some agitation of Love looks graceful, Although intellectually you are equal to the *Universal Intelligence*, don't be without madness.]

It is because of his regard for the intellect that he feels elated about his perception :

حد نلک ریزد تبار دامن افشاندن ام
یک شور گر شعله ادراک بردارد مرا

[The dust raised by my shaking off the skirt will create a hundred heavens,

If the flame of perception sustains me only for a moment.]

In this verse, in intellect, Bedil considers himself superior to the Intelligences which, according to the Neoplatonists, created all the Heavens and the world.

This much would do about Bedil's conception of Love. The discussion would grow endless if we try to find out how much Bedil

1. Here a reference has been made to the revelation of Lord's Glory to the Mountain at the request of Moses. See al-Qur'ān, vii, 143.

borrowed here from Plato, Ibn Sina, and Rūmī (who have all much to say about Love) and what was his original contribution to it. Suffice it to say that, in view of his lofty conception of love, he joins other great thinkers on the subject on terms of equality.

Out of the many and varied topics of Metaphysics, discussed by Bedil, I shall touch briefly one more. Man's origin, his relation to the Universe, and his destiny have been the subject-matter of poets, mystics, and thinkers in all lands and in all ages. Beginning with the Greeks, right up to this day, this inexhaustible subject has been discussed by every successive writer of repute, and everyone has had something useful to say. As the Muslim writers derived inspiration from the Qur'ān, their dissertations in this connection are chiefly based on the Qur'ānic verses. About soul the holy book says :

الروح من امر ربی

[The soul is from the command of my Lord (xvii. 85).]

Again, while speaking about Adam when his body was created from clay, the Qur'ān says :

و نفخت فيه من روحي

[I (God) breathed My spirit into it (xv. 29).]

These verses speak manifestly about the Divine element in Man. Bedil too takes his cue from these verses and says :

می سزد هر نفسم پای نفس بوسیدن
کزاد بگه قدم می رسد این تنگ سدوت

[It would be proper if every moment I kiss the feet of my breath,

As this lame one of creation arrives from the holy land of Eternity.]

Bedil is fond of making mention of this Divine aspect of man, but I shall quote only two sweet verses :

زطبع قطره نمی جز محیط نتوان یانت
تومی تراوی اگر جوش کرده ای ما را

[In the nature of the drop nothing but the moisture of the ocean is to be found

When You have caused us to boil, it is You who will trickle.]

دی من و دلدار از ربط آب و گوهر داشتیم
این زمان باید زقاصد نام او پر میدو سوخت

[On account of intimacy, Yesterday I and my beloved were together like the pearl and its lustre, but

Now I can do nothing except asking His Name from the messenger and burn.]

1. For Plato's conception of Love, see Grube, *Plato's Thought*, *Eros*, pp. 87-118. For Ibn Sina's, Jamil Saliba, *Ibn Sina*, pp. 93-97. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 38-39. For Plato's, Ibn Sina's and Rūmī's together, Khalifa 'Abdul Hakīm, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, pp. 52-79.

Bedil, therefore, feels proud when he thinks of his Divine Origin :

مو بموئیم چشمه برق تجلیهای اوست
طور انر آتش فروزد کرم شب تاب نیست

[Every hair of mine is the spring of His Glory.
If mount Sinai lights its fire, it is only my glow-worm.]

بیش از آنست در آئینه من مایه نور
که بهر ذره و خورشید نمایم تقسیم

[In my mirror the stock of light is much more than
That I should distribute among every atom and the Sun.]

Surrounded on all sides by Matter, Man becomes a prey to forgetfulness, and he turns his attention to those objects which attract his eyes by their glamour. Bedil, therefore, asks man to understand himself, as, according to the famous saying :

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

he who knows his own self, knows God. Some relevant verses of Bedil may now be considered :

سحر نشه فطرتی ته خاک از چه غفلتی
نفسی صرف جوش کن از خم چرخ سرکشا

[You are the morning of the excitement of Eternity.
What negligence keeps you under the dust?]

Employ a moment in exciting yourself

And rise head and shoulders above the curve of the sky.]

ستم است اگر هوست کشد که به سیر سرو سمن در آ
تور غنچه کم نه دیده ای در دل کشا بچمن در آ

[It would be unjust if you vainly desire to have a walk through
the cypresses and the Jassamines.

You are not sprouted inferior to the bud. Open your heart
and walk into the garden.]

کدام رمز و چه اسرار خویش را دریاب
که هرچه هست نهان غیر آشکار تو نیست

[There are no mysteries and no secrets. Find yourself,
For what is hidden is not different to what is manifest in you.]

Bedil repeatedly brings the vast potentialities of Man to our notice :

حیف نشکا فتم برده دل دانه بودست مهر خر منها

[Sorry, we did not tear the veil of the heart.

A grain had sealed a heap of corn.]

دل آسوده ما شور امکان در نفس دارد
گهر دزدیده است این جا عنان موج دریا را

[Our quiet heart has encaged within itself a world of uproar.
A pearl has stolen here the reins of the boisterous waves of
the ocean.]

از دل گرمی توان در کائنات آتش زدن
ساز چندی گنجینم و یکا شرر داریم ما

[By a warm heart, the entire Universe can be set on fire.
We have material for many furnaces, although we have only one spark.]

In view of his noble origin and immense potentialities, Man has been asked to cherish noble and lofty aims, to be engaged in a continuous and everlasting struggle, and to avoid evil and vain desires :

ای نمان بگذر ز چرخ و لا مکن تسخیر باش
چند در زیر سپر کردن آنهان شمشیر را

[O my wails, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.
How long will you conceal your sword under the shield ?]

ای طلب در وصل هم مشکن غبار جستجو
آتشم گرزنده سی خواهی زیا نشان مرا

[O quest, let not the dust of search settle down even at the time of Union.

I am fire, and if you want me to be alive, let me not settle down.]

به بی آراسی است آسائیش ذوق طلب بیدل
خوش آن رهرو که خار پای خود فهمید منزل را

[O, Bedil, the spirit of quest feels comforted in restlessness.
How fortunate is the traveller who thinks that his destination is only a thorn in his feet.]

زبزم وصل خواهشهای بیجای برد ما را
چو گوهر موج ما بیرون دریا می برد ما را

[Vain desires take us out of the assembly of Union.

Like the pearl our own wave takes us out of the ocean.]

The universe is neither superior to nor standing against Man. Bedil, like Iqbāl, believes that 'all this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of the spirit.' Establishment of proper relationship with the material world has thus been taught, because in this way inner powers of life are unfolded and Man rises above his environment :

چه فلک چه ذره ناتوان به هوائی شوق تر پرفشان
تر بهار و عالم رنگ و بو همه آشیان ظهور تو

[Whether the lofty sky or the lowly atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.

You are the spring, and the whole of this world of colour and smell is the nest for your development.]

نه فلک آغوش شوق انتظار آماده است
کای نهال باغ بیرنگی ز آب و گل برآ

[The nine¹ heavens with their open lap are waiting for you, saying :

"O thou plant of the garden of colourlessness,² come out of this mire of the world.]

In view of the vital importance of Man in the Universe, Bedil says that when Man will cease to exist the universe also will be no more :

بی وجود ما همین هستی عدم خواهد شدن
تا درین آئینه پیدا ایم عالم عالم است

[Without our presence (his existence will become non-existence, So long as we appear in this mirror, the world will continue to exist.)

If there are obstructions in the world and tribulations, Man should not be overawed or discouraged, because these only unfold his nobility. He must know that it is only the hardships which ultimately bring peace and tranquillity. Bedil makes another suggestion also. He says that a man, who has realised his self, is totally immune from these misfortunes :

حوادث عین آسایش بود آزاده مشرب را
که موج بحر دارد از شکست خویش جوهرها

[For a man, having independence of spirit, calamities bring peace of mind,

Because the wave of the ocean when it breaks makes pearls.]

زعافیت نتوان مژده کشا کش یافت
بدل شکستی اگر هست فتح باب طلب

[The happy news of deliverance cannot be had from a comfortable life.

If there is a breach in your heart ask for the opening of the door.]

ای طالب سلامت از آفات نگذری
در ساحل آتش است تو کشتی بر در آب

[O Thou, who art in search of safety, do not shun calamities. There is fire on the shore, hence take your boat to the waters.]

حوادث مژده امن است اگر دل جمع شد بدل
گهر افسانه داند شورش امواج جیحون را

[O Bedil, if your mind is composed, the disasters bring the good news of peace.

With the pearl, the uproar caused by the waves of Oxus, is only a myth.]

1. The nine heavens are :

فلک اقصی، فلک بروج، فلک زحل، فلک مریخ، فلک مشتری، فلک الشمس،
فلک زهره، فلک عطارد، فلک قمر

2. Divine Essence divested of Attributes.

These are instructions of practical nature and quite in keeping with Bedil's positively healthy philosophy of life. As regards Man's destiny he says :

چون سمل بیخودانه سوی بحر می رویم
آگه نه ایم دست که دارد عنان ما

[Like the torrent we are helplessly running towards the sea.
We are not aware whose hand holds our reins.]

تا قیامت جوهر و آئینه می جوشد بهم
از غبارم پاک نتوان کرد دامن شما

[Till the day of resurrection the mirror and its lustre would
agitate together.]

Your skirt cannot be cleaned of our dust.]

Union with God is the final destiny of Man. After descent Bedil is hopeful of ascent towards Absolute Reality.

These were only a layman's references to various problems of Metaphysics discussed by Bedil. I simply wanted to introduce this aspect of the poet to the literary world. It appears that Bedil had made a vast study of Islamic philosophy, for, in his *Ghazals*, we find references now and again to the Necessary and the Contingent (قدیم و حادث), the Eternal and the Temporal (واجب و ممکن), transcendence and anthropomorphism (تنزیه و تشبیه), Unity and Plurality (وحدت و کثرت), substance and accident (جوهر و عرض), matter and form (هیول و صورت), etc. *Ṣalāḥud Dīn*,¹ a modern scholar of Afghānistān, in his tract, *Afḡār-e-Ṣhā'ir*, tried to explain a few philosophical verses of Bedil, but an attempt like this can prove fruitful if all the topics, dealt with by Bedil, are systematically elaborated in an independent work. Bedil's Ethical philosophy, too, is a brilliant chapter of his writings—a chapter which impresses us very much on account of its magnitude also. But this is not a place to deal with his Ethics. As the basic points, about the Mysticism and Metaphysics of Bedil, are known, an idea about his Ethics can be easily formed.

At this stage it would be advisable if an attempt is made to judge the personality which will be the result of Bedil's philosophy. As soon as we start meditating in this direction, our imagination pictures a man with a sharp intellect ruled by selfless love. Though humble in spirit, he is fully aware of his noble origin. He works in the world courageously, facing all the hardships manfully to actualise the vast potentialities of his self. He shuns all worldly prizes, honours, and pleasures and, with a singleness of purpose, he struggles ceaselessly

1. *Ṣalāḥud Dīn* was for some time the Afghān Consul in Delhi, when India was not partitioned. For the explanations referred to here, see his *Afḡār-e-Ṣhā'ir*, pp. 16-36.

to conquer the Infinite. The universe is subservient to him. He uses the universe, as a young bird would its nest, for the development and unfolding of his inner capacities, and, as soon as his self is fully developed, he will seek union with the Absolute. A man, with keen intellectual powers, and a tremendous dynamic love, mastering the universe and then seeking union with God, is what Bedil has in view. So acute is Bedil's keenness for his object that, if it is not realised, his very self and the universe appear illusory to him, for it is only the Absolute Reality that counts, and it is only because of contact with It that Bedil's Man begins to have significance.

This was the speculative side of Bedil's thought. We should now briefly consider the socio-economic element in his Ghazals.

Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. during the prosperous reign of Shah Jahān, and died in 1133 A.H. during the reign of Muhammad Shāh when Mughal power was dwindling in India. He saw four regular wars of succession, and also witnessed the ghastly incidents in which the Barha Sayyid brothers were the principal actors. He observed that during these upheavals the foundations of the society were shaken and the economic make-up of the country was shattered. The aristocratic society, laboriously built up by the Mughal Emperors up to Aurangzeb, lost stability during the last days of Bedil. It had already been unnerved by prosperity continuing for generations, but successive upheavals tore asunder its yarn of values also. Thus Bedil passed not a minor part of his life in the degenerate, demoralised, and pompous Mughal society, which was drifting rapidly towards its final extinction. As a sage and philosopher he thought deeply about this sad state of affairs and tried to reform his society. His mysticism and his philosophy assume quite a new pattern when viewed in this context. He addressed the rulers, the aristocracy, and the common folk and warned them of their evil deeds. He informed them of the sad consequences of their conduct and persuaded them to adopt healthier ways. For a student of history such like sayings of Bedil are very important because they make available the first-hand information of the social conditions prevailing in those days.

To the rulers, in general, he said that the glory of kingship was shortlived :

نیست در رنگ اعتبار ثبات آبرو ها چو موج در گزراست

[The colour has not the quality of durability.

All dignity passes away like the wave.]

He told them there was no difference between an emperor and an ordinary man. On the other hand, he added, an emperor grows ignoble and inferior, because he becomes vain on account of the crown he wears;

در حباب و موج این دریا تفاوت بیش نیست
اندکی باد است در سر صاحب اورنگ را

[There is not much difference between the bubbles and the waves of this ocean.

The enthroned monarch has only some air in his head.]

After the death of Shāh 'Ālam in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) when Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne and gave himself up to voluptuousness and carousing, Bedil was very sorry to see such a brainless monarch seated on the glorious Peacock Throne. He said :

زی مغزی شکوه سلطنت شد ننگ کناسی
بجائی استخوان گد خورده می گردد هما اینجا

[Through incapacity imperial grandeur has been reduced to the disgrace of a sweeper.

Instead of the bones one who eats faeces becomes Phoenix here.]

The entire Ghazal in which this verse occurs censures those times and the ungenerous and silly emperor.

But Bedil's invectives grow very fierce when he addresses the aristocrats. Before him no poet, except Sa'di, had discharged this sad duty so courageously and boldly. Bedil talks about the pomp and show, the kettle-drums and the bugles, and the vaulted chambers and the palaces of the Mughal aristocrats, and tells them that if they thought these things were to last for ever, they were sadly mistaken :

این است اگر کروفر طاق و سرایت
بنیاد غبار بهوا رفته متین است

[If this is the splendour of your vaulted chambers and palaces,

Then the foundations of the dust flying in the air have become secure.]

The aristocrats were in the habit of making a display of their splendour. Bedil told them it was extremely harrowing :

رعنائی تجمل مست خراش دلهاست
هرگاه پنجه بازید شد ناخن آزمادست

[The elegance of splendour proudly harrows the hearts.

Whenever the hand is sportive it uses the nails.]

Most of them were light-headed and talked boastfully. They were mentally of a low calibre and did not thank God for His favours :

شود کم ظرف در نعمت زشکر ایزدی غافل
که سری سهر خاوشیست چون سا غرد هانش را

I. Hali, *Alfāf Husain, Hayāt-e-Sa'di*, p. 18. Here see how fearlessly and selflessly Sa'di criticised the courtiers of his day.

[In prosperity the puny intellect becomes thankless to God,
As like the cup satiety is the seal of silence for its mouth.]
They were base and vile and thought that the engraving on the
stone in the ring (نقش نگین) was the height of glory :

بہزت عالمی جان می کند اما ازین غافل
کہ در نقش نگین معراج می باشد دنامت را

[For honour the entire world has become crazy, but it forgets
That it is meanness which finds the height of glory in the
engraving on the stone.]

On account of their love for the worldly riches, they did not care for
supreme virtue of Faqr. Also as they were proud of their elevated
ranks they behaved like Antichrist in religious affairs :

عرض دین حق میر در پیش مغروران جاہ
ستغنی مہدی بر نمی آید ازین دجالہا

[Do not talk about the True Faith before those who are
proud of their ranks.]

The excursions of Mahdī cannot be expected from Antichrist.]

They were incurably negligent of their duties. There were rude,
ill-tempered, ill-natured, and vindictive. They were full of evil
thoughts, their countenance was always sour, and they indulged in
severe and harsh talk :

کج اندیشان ندارند آگہی از راستان یدل
ز انگشت است یکسر میل کوری چشم خاتم را

[The evil-thinking persons are absolutely ignorant of the
truthful people, Bedil.]

Through the finger the eye of the ring has completely the
needle of blindness.]

بحرف ناملائم زحمت دلہا مشو یدل
کہ ہر جا جنس سنگی هست باشد دشمن مینا

[O Bedil, do not trouble the hearts by your harsh words,
For wherever there is a stone, it is enemy of the flask.]

In addition to this, lust¹ was consuming their soul and body, so much

1. About the luxurious ways and voluptuousness of those days we learn a
good deal from the book *Muraqqa'-e-Delhi*, which was written by Nawāb Dargāh
Qulī Khān, during the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. We learn from
the book that once Wazīr-ulmamālīk I'timād-uddaula gave drinking cups, etc. worth
Rs. 70,000 to a dancing girl named Bahniā-e-Fīlsawār (p. 75). It has been told
that the courtiers were sodomists (pp. 27, 28, 33, 70-73), and that they celebrated
days when nothing but luxury and gratification of sensual pleasures was the
order (p. 33). For this there were separate quarters where the censor could not
go. One of such places was Kasalpurā, and about it Nawāb Dargāh Qulī remarks
(p. 33) :

ہوائیش شہوت آمیز است و فضائیش باہ انگیز

[Its air is lustful and its atmosphere incites sexual intercourse.]

Women too had such like places which were rendezvous for meetings with lovers,

so that amongst them could be found passively sodomistical persons :

بیدل چه ذلتست که فردون متقلب
در طبع مرد خاصیت زن نهاده است

[O, Bedil, what meanness it is that the changed times
Have placed the quality of a woman in the nature of man.]

Besides, they oppressed the people. They were callously cruel. Their glib tongue also had the venom of vindictiveness :

نرمی گفتار ظالم بی قسوت کینه نیست
صنعتی دارد حسد از شعله پروردن در آب

[The soft speech of the cruel man is never devoid of vindictiveness.

When jealousy rears a flame in the water, it is only a subtle art.]

Cruelty was prevalent and Bedil said pathetically :

بترس از آه مظلومان که هنگام دعا کردن
اجابت از در حق بهر استقبال می آید

[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones, for when they pray

Acceptation rushes forward from the Divine door to welcome their prayers.]

As this undying verse has been quoted¹ by Aurangzeb, it shows it was composed by Bedil when that Emperor was still alive and that the officers in the service of that God-fearing Emperor, too, were oppressors. It was because of this widespread oppression and political instability that Bedil wrote :

بال بر بال شهرت عفتاست رنگ آرام در زمانه ما

[In our times the colour of peace has winged off and disappeared like the fabulous Phoenix.]

For the common folk Bedil had a warm corner. Although a man of elevated genius and respected by the most elevated people of his times, he loved the lowest class and the life of poverty (فقر). He was moved whenever he saw the sad and quiet faces of the poor,

Nāgal was one of those places, and there, on the seventh day of every month, women used to go in large numbers in their best make-up (p. 39). The author says:

اگر غریب وارد آن نزعت کده گردد فوراً بجفت می رسد

[If a stranger comes to that elegant place, he will immediately pair.]

This book was written when in 1151 A.H. Nādir Shāh, the Persian soldier of fortune, came to Dehli and Nawāb Dargāh Qulī Khān was there in the service of Nizām-ul Mulk Āsif Jāh (Muragga², Preface, pp. 15-17, 20; and Khazānā-e-Āmirā, p. 223).

If such a society could not resist its enemies and fell an easy prey to them, it was but natural !

and whenever they were vociferous in expressing their complaints, he justified them :

هجوم شکوه هر کس ز درد مفلسی باشد
نخیزد ناله ازنی تا بود مغز استخوانش را

[The uproarious complaints of all are due to the pangs of poverty.

So long as there is pith in its bones the reed will not moan.]

He advised the poor not to be dismayed, and also asked them not to take their grievances to the hard-hearted rich. When such were the ways of the society he had a hazy conception of some extreme action :

زندگی در بند و قید رسم و عادت مردن است
دست دست تست بشکن این طلسم ننگ را

[Life is but wearing out in the bondage of customs,

You have got your hands. Why don't you break this spell?]

This was the human side of Bedil, and with this I have finished what I had to say about Ghazals. Now I give below translation of only three Ghazals of Bedil. I regret the translation lacks the flavour of the original.

1

خاکسار تو طپیدن کند آغاز چرا
جرس آبله بیرون دهد آواز چرا
جیب حسنت گره از پیضه فولاد کشود
دیده ما بجمال تو نشد باز چرا
دل بدست تو و ما از تو دگر مانع چیست
خودنمایی نکند آئینه پرداز چرا
میل بنیاد جهان است نظر واک کردن
هوش ما هم نشود خانه بر انداز چرا
ساز بینایی دل گر نه عروج آهنگ است
نفس از بیم طوش می شود آواز چرا
گر نه ساز بست یقین رابطه هر بم و زهر
شکوه شد زمزمه طالع ناساز چرا
بی نیازی اگر از عیب و هنر مستغنی است
حیرت آئینه دارد لب غماز چرا
نیست جز خودشکنی دامن اقبال بشد
آخرای مشت غبار این همه پرواز چرا
بیدل آئینه معشوق نما در بر تست
این نیاز بکه تو داری نشود ناز چرا

[Why should your humble slave be in violent agitation?

Why should the bell-like blister have a sound?]

The breast of your charms removed the knot from the steel-egg, but

Why my eyes have not opened at your beauty?

My heart is in your hands and I belong to you. Then what prevents you,
 Who are busy with the mirror, from self-display?
 Your opening the eye undermines the foundations of the world like a torrent, then
 Why should not the structure of our reason come tumbling down?
 If the instrument of the restlessness of heart is not producing a resounding symphony
 Why the breath, being afraid of agitation, is changing into sound?
 If faith does not keep order in the high and low tones of the instrument,
 Why the complaint has changed into the song of ill-luck?
 If that, who is free from want, is indifferent to faults and virtues,
 Why does the bewilderment of the mirror have a tale-bearer-lip?
 The skirt of glory cannot be held aloft except by self-renunciation,
 O thou handful of dust, why then so much of flight?
 The beloved showing mirror is in your bosom, Bedil, then
 Why this humility, that you have, should not change into pride?]

2

چشم تو بحال من گرینم نظر خندد
 تا چند بر آن عارض بر رخسار نگاه من
 در کشور مشتاقان بی پرتو دیدارت
 دل بیچکد از چشمم چون ابر اگر گریم
 با اهل فنا هر کس دارد سر یک رنگی
 در کارگاه خوبی یارب چه نوا کتهاست
 در جوی دم تیغ شیرینی آبی هست
 سامان طرب سهل است زین نقد که ما داریم
 هر شبنم ازین گلشن تمهید گلی دارد
 از سستی هوس بگذر بیدل که درین گلشن
 خارم بچمن نازد عییم به هنر خندد
 از حلقه گیسویت گلهائی نظر خندد
 خورشید چرا تابد بهر چه سحر خندد
 جان می دمد از املت چون برق اگر خندد
 باید که برونک شمع از رفتن سر خندد
 صد کوه بخود بالند تا موئی کمر خندد
 کز جوش حلاوتها زخمش بشکر خندد
 صبح از دو نفس فرصت بر خود چقدر خندد
 باگریه مدارا کن چندانکه اثر خندد
 گل نیز اگر خندد از پهلوی زر خندد

[If your eye turns cheerfully towards me even from its corners,

My thorns shall assume a haughty air before the garden,
 and my defects shall laugh at the virtues.

How long on those cheeks, contrary to the will of my glances,

Shall the flower-like eyes glow, out of the curls of your tresses?

In the realm of the lovers, without a ray from your face,
 Why should the sun shine, and why should the morning
 dawn?
 If I weep like the cloud, my heart trickles down my eyes,
 and
 When your ruby lips smile like lightning, my soul sprouts
 from them.
 Everyone is sincere to the annihilated ones.
 Like the candle, one should laugh when the head is gone.
 O God! What subtleties are there in the world of comeliness?
 (The fair ones).
 Stretch themselves equal to the height of a hundred peaks
 and then the hair of their waist appears smilingly.
 In the stream of the blade of your sword there is sweetness
 of water,
 Because on account of excessive sweetness the wound caused
 by it laughs at the sugar.
 By whatever cash we have it is easy to enjoy ourselves.
 How much does the morning laugh with but a couple of
 breaths?
 Every dewdrop in this garden is a flower in the making
 Be courteous to weeping so that it might influence (the be-
 loved).
 Give up greed, Bedil, for in this garden,
 Even when the flower laughs mockingly, it does so on account
 of having a golden side.

بسته‌ام چشم امید از الفت اهل جهان
 کرده‌ام پیدا چو گوهر در دل دریا کران
 بسکه پستی در کمین دارد بنائی اعتبار
 بعد ازین دیوارهای سایه خواهد شد عیان
 از تجمل سفله را ساز بزرگی مشکل است
 خاک از سامان بآیندن نکردد آسمان
 ای تمنایت خیال اندیش تصویر محال
 سیر خود کن دیگر از عننا چه می جوئی نشان
 نارسائی جاده بر منزل جمعیت است
 از شکست بال می بالد حضور آشیان
 جز تحیر از جنون ما سیه بختان میسر
 حلقه زنجیر کیسو بر نمی دارد فغان
 عاشق از اهل هوس در صبر دارد امتیاز
 کرده اند آئینه و شبنم بعبودت استحان
 رفتگان یا رب چه سامان داشتند از درد و داغ
 کاین زمانم می دهد آتش سراج کاروان
 عیشهای دارد عدم فرسائی اجزای من
 جوش مهتاب است هر جا پنبه شد تارکشان

کوشش گردون علاج بی پریهائیم نکرد
 مشکل است از سرو گلچیدن به سعی باغبان
 در فضائی دل مقام عزت و خواری یکست
 نیست صدر خانه آئینه غیر از آستان
 بی رواجیهای عرض احتیاجم خوار کرد
 آب رو چندانکه می ریزم نمی گردد روان
 صبح این هنگامه ای از سیر خود غافل باش
 یک نفس پیدائیت از عالمی دارد نشان
 چشم او را نیست بیدل سیری از خون ریختن
 جام می از باده پیمای نگردد سر گران

[I have lost all hopes of love from the people, and
 Like the pearl I have found a corner in the heart of the
 ocean.

As the base also aims at having a structure of dignity
 After this walls made of shadow would appear.
 By splendour the base cannot make a display of greatness.
 The dust when it rises up cannot become a sky.
 Your desires vainly think of the impossible,
 Have a journey through yourself. Why do you make a
 search for the Phoenix?

Helplessness is the direct route to the destination of peace.
 When the wings break prospects of having a nest become
 bright.

Except bewilderment, ask for nothing from the madness of
 such unlucky persons as we are.

The rings of the chain of tresses produce no sound.
 In patience the lover distinguishes himself from the sensual
 people.

The mirror and the dewdrop have been tested in bewilder-
 ment.

O God, how much of pain and sadness the departed ones had?
 Even now the fire relates the tale of the caravan.

If my parts have rubbed themselves into non-existence
 I am full of delight, as

Wherever cotton changes into linen there is a flood of
 moonlight.

Even the sky could not cure my winglessness.

It is impossible to pluck flowers from the cypress by the
 efforts of the gardener.

In the domain of heart the position of dignity and of
 dishonour is the same.

The threshold of the house of mirrors is seen high up.

I am sad because my making requests receives no attention.

However I shed the water of my face it does not run.

You are the dawn of this (agreeably) vociferous assembly,
don't neglect a peep into yourself.

If you become manifest even for a while, you will display a
unique world.

The beloved's eye, O Bedil, does not get tired of shedding
blood.

The cup of wine is never intoxicated by drinking ceaselessly.]

The poet who wrote such excellent verse, of supreme literary value, having the greatest number of greatest ideas, could not fail to have followers after his death. In India, as well as in Central Asia, there have been many poets who took pride in imitating Bedil. About the poets of the latter¹ region, I had occasion to speak in the third chapter, and I should, therefore, confine myself here to the Indian poets alone. Leaving aside the second-rate² poets I shall talk about the two topmost ones, i.e. Ghālib and Iqbal, whose fame has crossed the frontiers of this subcontinent, and whose talent is recognised by all and sundry.

Asadullah Khān Ghālib (1212-1285 A.H.) was the renowned poet of Persian and Urdu, and his fame is growing daily, particularly because of his Urdu Dīwān. His earliest biographer and pupil, Altāf Husain Hālī, says³ that in his childhood Ghālib followed Bedil. The two Maṣnavīs, محیط اعظم and طور معرفت which were in Ghālib's possession,⁴ bear the date 1231 A.H. This shows that Ghālib was nineteen years old when these Maṣnavīs were with him. Ghālib himself has also admitted⁵ that he studied and imitated Bedil (and others of his type) till he was twenty-five years old. He adds that when the literary productions of that period were collected, a large Dīwān was the result. But as at that time Ghālib did not have sufficient skill in writing poetry, and also as he followed Bedil mostly in finding⁶ original conceits, which again at that age could not be easily reached by him, he was embarrassed. His verses became extremely abstruse, and he had to say:

طرز بیدل میں ریختہ لکھنا اسد اللہ خان قیامت ہے

[Writing of lyrics in the style of Bedil,

Is extremely difficult, O Asadullah Khān.]

This phase of Ghālib's earlier attempts at versification makes a sad

1. Page 152 supra.

2. For example. Ṣaḥbāī and Alvī, mentioned by Altāf Husain Hālī in *Yādgar-e-Ghālib*, p. 102.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4. Page 172, supra.

5. *Nurkha-e-Hamidiya* (of Ghālib's Dīwān), p. 14.

6. *Ibid.*

story, mainly because the lovers of Ghālib ascribe his earlier abstruseness entirely to Bedil, and consequently a bias exists against our poet. I shall therefore make a brief statement of the positive gains of Ghālib resulting from the intensive study of Bedil:

1. Ghālib says:

اسد ہر جا سخن نے طرح باغ تازہ ڈالی ہے
مجھے رنگ بہار ایجادی بیدل پسند آیا

[Asad, wherever in the verse a new garden has been grown (it is because)

I like Bedil's style which produces (colourful) spring.]

It is a very important couplet pointing definitely to the influence of Bedil on the creative imagination of Ghālib. Dr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri says¹ that at every page of Ghālib's *Dīwān* there are verses which an artist can express in colour. This was actually done by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāl, who brought out a very popular pictorial edition² of Ghālib's *Dīwān*. Now, if the above-mentioned verse of Ghālib is to be believed, which we must, this was the influence of Bedil. In addition to what I have said in this chapter about Bedil's sense of Beauty, a perusal of the *Maṣnavī* *محیط اعظم* and *طور معرفت*, which we know were studied by Ghālib, establishes the fact beyond doubt that Bedil's imagination is ablaze when he is describing beautiful things. His *بہار* (description of spring) in *محیط اعظم* expressed in a running glowing metre is a thing of everlasting beauty. And in *طور معرفت*, which is a description of the scenery, during the rainy season, of a hill called *Bairāt*, Bedil has said in all subtleness:

مزن بر سنگ او ز بہار دستی کہ مینا در بغل خوابیدہ مستی

[Don't strike your hands against its stones,

For a drunk Beauty is asleep there with a flask under the arm.]

When Bedil has such a charming expression of the 'Beautiful,' the aesthetic taste of Ghālib must have been deeply influenced by it.

2. But beauty does not exist in thought alone; it appears in expression also. Similes, metaphors, combinations of words, diction are all influenced by it. Examples of Bedil's graceful expression have been cited above. Now if we go through Dr. Bijnauri's³ inspired comments about Ghālib's peculiarities of style, we find that Bedil's characteristics are also the same. Dr. Bijnauri has cited Ghālib's new

1. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri, *Nushkha-e-Hamidiya*, p. 53, Preface.

2. See *Muraqqa'-e-Ghālib*, the pictorial edition of *Dīwān-e-Ghālib*, brought out by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chughtāl.

3. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnauri, *Nushkha-e-Hamidiya*, Preface.

combinations¹ of words, e.g. شهر آرزو - شهر رنگ - موجہ گل - برگ ادراک - جوہر اندیشہ - آتش خاموش etc. etc., and if they are compared with Bedil's combinations,² we observe striking similarities. Such like combinations abound also in محیط اعظم and طور معرفت of Bedil. We tread still surer grounds when we read Hālī saying³ that in Ghālīb's Persian prose, elements of Bedil's style have been incorporated.

3. Again Bedil said⁴:

شاعری عبارت از معنی تازه یابیست

[Poesy is synonymous with finding out original conceits

And Ghālīb has said:⁵

بہائی شاعری معنی آفرینی ہے قافیہ پیمائی نہیں

[Brother! Poesy means creating original conceits and not only bringing together mutually rhyming verses.]

Who can say this sentiment of Ghālīb was not strengthened as a result of imitating Bedil?

4. Finally, Altāf Husain Hālī says that, although to escape the charge of abstruseness Ghālīb found refuge in Nazīrī and other poets of his type, yet for a long time Ghālīb was inspired by the spirit of Bedil. We know about Bedil's mystical speculations and his notions about the origin and destiny of Man. When Dr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī discusses this phase of Ghālīb's thought, he poses the question⁷: Who knows from where Ghālīb imbibed this spirit? Had the learned Doctor made researches about the suggestive remark of Hālī, quoted above, he would have certainly agreed with Hālī that it was indeed Bedil who inspired Ghālīb in this respect. Fuller implications of this statement would be more clearly brought home to us, if the following parallel verses of Bedil and Ghālīb are studied:

Bedil:

ہند غیب است شہود اینجا نیست
جملہ اخفاست نمود اینجا نیست
نتوان جلوہ مطلق دیدن
آنکہ این پردہ کشود اینجا نیست
بد ہستی تو امید است نیستی ہارا
کہ گفتہ اند اگر هیچ نیست اللہ است

[Everything is invisible here and nothing visible.
All is hidden, nothing is apparent.]

1. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Hamīdiya*, Preface, p. 43.

2. Page 190 *supra*.

3. Hālī, *Yadgār-e-Ghālīb*, p. 310.

4. Sarkhush, *Kalimātush Shu'arā*, p. 34.

5. Hālī, *Yadgār-e-Ghālīb*, p. 124.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

7. 'Abdur Raḥmān Bijnaurī, *Nuskha-e-Hamīdiya*, p. 108.

It is impossible to see Absolute Beauty.
 That who drew the curtain is not here.
 Because of your Existence all non-existence has hopes.
 For it is said, "There is Allah when there is nothing."]

Ghālīb:

مے غیبِ شمع جس کو سمجھتے ہیں ہم شہرود
 ہیں خواب میں هنوز جو جاگے ہیں خواب میں
 [It is hidden what we consider to be apparent.
 Those who have awoke in sleep are still asleep.
 نہ تھا کچھ تو خدا تھا کچھ نہ ہوتا تو خدا ہوتا
 ڈبویا مجھ کو ہونے نے نہ ہوتا میں تو کیا ہوتا]

When everything was non-existent, God existed, and had
 there been nothing, God would have been there.
 This existence has been my undoing. What would I have
 been (God) ; if I had not been.]

No impartial and unbiased scholar can overlook the importance of these positive gains in the development of Ghālīb's genius. Although, in order to secure facility of expression, Ghālīb turned to poets like 'Urfī and Nazirī, yet his earlier contact with Bedil, extending over a long period of ten¹ years, gave a definite pattern to his thoughts and expression which later enabled him to reach the dizzy heights of glory.

As regards Dr. Muhammed Iqbāl (1873-1938 A.D.), the well-known poet whose Philosophy of Self has earned him an undying fame, one can assert indisputably that right from his early age to the end of his life, he held Bedil in high esteem and derived much benefit from the diction and philosophy of that poet. He has twice quoted Bedil in his works, once² in *Bangā-e-Darā*, published in 1924 A.D., and inserted the following couplet of Bedil :

با ہر کمال اندکی آشفگی خوش است
 ہر چند عقل کل شدہ ای بی جنوں مباش
 and again³ in *Zarb-e-Kalām*, published in 1936 A.D., inserting Bedil's following couplet :

دل اگر می داشت وسعت بی نشان برد این چمن
 رنگ می بیرون نشست از بسکہ مینا تنگ بود
 [Had your heart been expansive this garden would not have
 had any vestige.
 As the flask had little capacity, the colour of the wine re-
 maind outside.]

1. *Nuskha-e-Hamidiya*, p. 14. Ghālīb himself admits here that he imitated Bedil for ten years, beginning when he was 15 and leaving when twenty five.

2. Iqbāl, *Bang-e-Darā*, p. 278.

On both the occasions he talks very respectfully about our poet and in *Bāng-e-Darā* he calls him *سرشد کامل*. In his *Lectures and Malfūzāt* too Bedil has been mentioned. In the former¹ Bedil has been called "Our Great Poet Thinker," and in the latter² Iqbāl appreciated Bedil's dynamic mysticism in preference to the Philosophy of Asadullah Khān Ghālib, which, Iqbāl says, is inclined to be static. From what we have said so far it is manifest that both Iqbāl and Bedil share each other's hatred for dry as dust intellectualism, belief in the vast potentialities of Man, and love for activism. These facts will become all the more clear if a comparative study of the following verses of both the great poets is made :

Bedil :

چه لازم با خرد همخانه بودن
دوروزی می توان دیوانه بودن

[It is not essential to be always with reason.
One should also be mad for a couple of days.]

حیف نشگفتیم پرده دل
دانه بودست سهر خرمنها

[Sorry we did not tear open the veil of the heart.
A grain had sealed the granary.]

ای فنان بگذر ز چرخ ولا مکان تسخیر باش
چند در زیر سهر کردن نهان شمشیر را

[O, my cries, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless.
How long will you keep your sword hidden under the shield ?]

ب ساز حادثه هم نغمه بودن آرام است
اگر زمانه قیامت کند تو طوفان باش

[Being in tune with the instrument of the accidents brings
peace.

If the times create tumult be a storm.]

Iqbāl :

اچھا ہے دل کے ساتھ رہے ہاسبان عقل
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے

[It is preferable that reason should be with the heart as
guardian.

But sometimes it should leave it alone.]

حسن کا گنج گرانمایہ تجھے مل جاتا
تو نے فرعاد نہ کھودا کبھی ویرانہ دل

[You would have got a priceless treasure of Beauty,
Had you, O Farhad, dug the mildernes of heart.]

در دشت جنون من جبریل زبون صیقلی
یزدان بکمند آور ای همت مردانہ

1. Iqbāl, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 11.

2. Iqbāl, *Malfūzāt*. Anwar, 'Abdullah, *The Poet of the East*, p. 314.

[In the waste-land of my madness the angel Gabriel is but a
worthless prey.

O, high-minded courage, catch God in your noose.]

گزر جا بن کے سبیل تند رو کوہ و نیابان سے
گلستان راہ میں آئے تو جوی نغمہ خوار ہو جا

[Pass through the hills and the deserts like the swift torrent
but

If there is a garden in your way, be a sweet singing stream.]

A strange identity of temperament, thought, and outlook makes itself apparent from these verses of both the poets. A detailed comparative study of the life and works of each one of them is bound to be more fruitful, but I must be content here with saying that both of them tried to reform and regenerate the society, in which they were born, by their soul-stirring verse and their lifegiving thought. It was because of this that Iqbāl, who came after Bedil, was full of praise for his forerunner in thought.

Still there is another phase of Iqbāl's indebtedness to Bedil, to which S. A. Vahid, a learned writer on Iqbāl's Art and Thought, draws our attention. He says¹:

How beautifully Iqbāl has sung of his philosophy of ego in his graceful and melodious verse. It needed a superb Artist to achieve this, but it must be remarked that Iqbāl's task was rendered easier by poets like Hafiz, Bedil, and Ghalib. So far as I know, Hafiz was the first great poet to discuss philosophy and sociology, as he knew them, as well as politics in his lyrics. This trend continued in Persian till we find in 'Urfi and Bedil abstruse philosophical subjects discussed with the grace and the charm of which only a Persian Ghazal is capable.

This similarity of diction in Bedil and Iqbāl was first of all detected by the poet Akbar Husain Akbar (d. 1921 A.D.) of Allahabad who, while praising Iqbāl, wrote² to a friend:

What a fine expression. Even Bedil would be enamoured of it.

Iqbāl himself³ wrote to a poet named Ghulām⁴ Husain Shākir Siddiqī of Gujānwala, Panjab, to study Bedil in order to improve his diction. This shows how much the charm of Iqbāl's expression is

1. Vahid, S.A. : *Iqbāl, His Art and Thought*, p. 194.

2. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October 1949, p. 21. It was in a letter to one Mirzā Sulṭān Aḥmad.

3. *Makhzan*, Lahore, for October, 1949, p. 21; *Māhau*, Rawalpindi, for December 1952, p. 10.

4. Ghulām Husain Shākir Siddiqī follows Iqbāl in his poems and writes mostly about historic topics. His works are *Armughān-e-Ulfa* (a novel), *Sa'ādāt-e-Dārāin* (a collection of doxological poems), *Riāz-e-Ishq* (Ghazals), *Guizār-e-Khayāl*,

due to the graceful wording of Bedil. We have studied Bedil's combination¹ of words; we should now study Iqbāl's² for the sake of comparison :

ذوق نمو، آئینه دار هستی، بحرستان نوا، لطف خرام، نشه، بستی، توسن
ادراک، ذوق تبسم، جهان اضطراب، فیض شعور، عذت فکر، قافله، رنگ و بو

A passing reference to the indebtedness of Urdu language to Bedil would not be out of place. As far as I know, Bedil wrote only three verses in this language, but his pupils³ Anand Rām Mukhlis, Sirājuddīn Khān Arzū, and Nawāb Amir Khān Anjām have left many verses in Urdu. As after Bedil's death in 1033 A.H., poets of Shāh Jahānābād turned in large numbers to Urdu, the celebrations of the death anniversaries of Bedil attracted Urdu⁴ poets also who got inspiration from Bedil's verse. Moreover, we have just talked about Ghālīb and Iqbāl, who wrote in Urdu also, and everybody knows they have enriched this language vastly by the sweetness of their expression and the loftiness of their thoughts. Thus it is clear that indirectly Urdu language owes much to Bedil. This fact can be explained further by enumerating second-rate Urdu poets who followed Bedil, but this will unduly lengthen the discussion, and I should, therefore, finish it here and move to the next chapter.

Bahār-e-Khayāl (both collections of national and historical poems), and *Yad-e-Qalandar* (mainly versified addresses to Iqbāl and the letters from the Poet of the East). In this connection, read an article by Shākir Siddiqī, captioned *Yad-e-Qalandar*, contributed to *Māhāt* for December 1952.

1. Page 190 *supra*.
2. Yūsuf Husain Khān, *Rāḥ-e-Iqbāl*, p. 110.
3. Mīr Taqī Mīr, *Nikātush Shu'ara*, pp. 2-4, 9; Gardezī, Sayyid Fatah 'Alī Husainī, *Tazkira-e-Rokhta Goyār*, p. 2.
4. Sauda, *Kulliyāt*, pp. 470, 471. Here Mīrṣā Muḥammad Rafī 'Sauda (d. 1193 A.E.) writes a satire in Urdu about the poet, Nudrat Kashmīrī, who took part in the celebrations.

that it has about 6,000 couplets. It has a brief preface in prose and eight¹ chapters. The names of the chapters are given in the following eight lines.²

جام تقسیم حریفان شهوت	جوش اظهار خمستان وجود
شور سر جوش مئی فیض حضور ³	بوج انوار گهر عائی ظهور
بزم تیرنگ خط لوح وصال	رنگ اسرار گلستان کمال
ختم طومار تگ و پوئی بیان	اصل اشکل خم و پیچ بیان

The preface begins with the praise of the Creator Who honoured Man by saying :

واقدا کریمنا بنی آدم⁴

And surely We have dignified the children of Ādam.]

Then Bedil names the poets Zuhūrī, Hilālī, Zulālī, Sālik, Talib, Šāmīr, Shaidā, Salīm, and Šāib, who (with the exception of the last two) could not be expected to comprehend properly and appreciate this Masnavī. In the first chapter Bedil tells how Pure Being gradually descended and entered the realm of manifestation. In the second chapter he informs how the wine of Divine Love, nay the Light of Heavens, was turn by turn distributed among the different prophets, i.e. Ādam, Idrīs, Nūh, Yūnus, Ibrāhīm, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, Sulaimān, Ayyūb, Mūsa, 'Isa, and Muḥammad (Peace be upon them), and then among Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Alī—the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. This fact reminds us of Ibnul 'Arabī, who named the chapters⁵ of his *Fuṣuṣul Ḥikam* after different prophets and discussed in each chapter an appropriate aspect of Mysticism. The third chapter deals with Manifestation, the fourth with the universal passion of love for God, and the fifth tells that perfection is attained by approaching the Almighty in a spirit of humility. In the sixth the tavern of the intoxicated lovers of God has been described, and in the seventh the unique position of Man in the universe has been emphasised. The eighth chapter marks the end. Here and there in the Masnavī anecdotes have been introduced to illustrate some point. The metre of the poem is مقارب مشمن— the famous running metre of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī.

1. *Muḥṭṭ-e-A'zam*, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 1526, f. 47 b. See the following couplets :

ای بسته دانت به طوف معنی احرام در حلقه این میکده کن دور تمام
مفتاح بهشت معرفت در کف تست از دور تمنش اگر یابی جام

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Šafdarī*, *Muḥṭṭ-e-A'zam*, p. 3.

3. In the Ms. of the Masnavī, mentioned above, it is : شور سر جوش شراب. And similarly the sixth is : بزم تیرنگ اثرهائی خیال; see f. 47b.

4. The Holy Qur'ān, xvii. 70.

5. Page 46, supra.

6. Shushtery, A.M.A., *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, II, 505-16.

Masnavis

REDAGI, the father of Persian poetry, was also the first poet to write a *Masnavi*¹ in Persian. He related in verse the famous story of *Kalila and Damna* and thus *Masnavi*, as a class in itself, came into being. The *Masnavi* was, therefore, originally a narrative, but gradually its scope was widened, and romantic, epic, philosophical, ethical, didactic, and mystical *Masnavis* were written in course of time by different poets. When Bedil was born, all the great *Masnavis*: the *Ḥadīqat ul Ḥaqīqat* of Sanāi, the *Masnavi* of Jalālud Dīn Rūmī, the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the *Panj Ganj* of Nizāmī of Ganja, the *Bostān* of Sa'dī, and the *Haft Aurang* of Jāmī, had been written and were universally popular in Muslim countries. Bedil, therefore, was able to study *Masnavi* in its fully developed form. The language of the *Masnavis*, too, had improved to such an extent that topics of all sorts, whether nature poetry, battle scenes, emotions, customs, character-sketches, philosophical subjects, or other problems of life, could be handled without facing any difficulty in expression. Suitable words, appropriate phrases, apt similes and metaphors, and carefully coined terminology could be found in abundance; and an intelligent, well-read, and original writer like Bedil could express himself with a charm and elegance which could not fall to the lot of the *Masnavi*-writers of earlier ages. Having enumerated, in brief, the advantages which Bedil had over his predecessors, we should study his *Masnavis* in the chronological order.

1. MUḤIT-E-A'ZAM

Bedil was twenty four years old when he wrote this *Masnavi* in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.). Its name *مکتبہ اعظم* is the chrologogram,² *Khushgū* says³ that it has 2,000 couplets, but some manuscript copies of this *Masnavi*, which are found in different countries of the world, show⁴

1. In a *Masnavi* both the hemistiches of every couplet rhyme with each other and the rhyme changes with every next couplet. The minimum number of couplets in a *Masnavi* is two, but there is no limit to their maximum number. Similarly, *Masnavis* are not written in a particular metre. Any metre can suit them.

2. Page 55 supra.

3. *Khushgū, Mā'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

4. Page 171 supra.

There are four aspects of the poem, and hints about them have been made by Bedil himself. In the preface¹ Bedil says that the poem is a *میخانه ظهور حقائق* (A Tavern for the Revelation of Truths), i.e. its philosophical aspect has been referred to. In the same preface it has been called *بهشت معرفت*² also, which means the Paradise of Gnosis, and thereby the mystical import of the poem has been emphasised. In his *Ruq'at*, Bedil writes³ that it is a *Saqināma*, i.e. a Bacchanalian Song. Again, in the *Chahār 'Unsur* this *Maṣnavī* has been named⁴ *بهاریه*, i.e. a vernal ode. I would like to speak briefly about all the four aspects of the *Maṣnavī*, but, before doing so, I should reiterate that it was the first *Maṣnavī* of Bedil, written at the youthful age of twenty four, when the memories of his spiritual preceptors, who were accustomed⁵ to talk about the mystical philosophy in their meetings, were still fresh in his mind.

While speaking of God Bedil begins with Pure Being, devoid of qualities and relations, when there were no accidents, no contradictions and no talk of the Necessary and the contingent. All this uproar was then hushed up in *Huwiyya* (He-ness) "which⁶ signifies the inward Unity in which the attributes of the Essence disappear." Bedil says figuratively :

تنزه	چراغ	شبستان	او	تقدس	بهار	گلستان	او
خموشی	به	بزمش	ترنم	بیان	تجیر	به	گلزار
نه	بر	دست	ساقی	قدح	نه	از	حرف
نه	غم	نی	طرب	نی	خزاں	نی	بهار
به	میخانه	غیب	لاهورت	بست	بهم	ساقی	و باد و می پرست
نی	و نغمه	و مطرب	داستان	پس	پرده	ساز	وحدت

[Transcendence was lamp of Its chamber,

Sanctity was a blossom of Its garden,

Quietness breathed a melodious song in Its assembly, and

Bewilderment strewed flowers in Its orchard.

Neither the cup had opened its eye on the bearer's hand,

Nor the melody was aware of the minstrel's tune.

There was neither sorrow, nor joy, and neither autumn nor spring.

Similarly there was neither exhilaration produced by wine nor the pain of drunken headache.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Şaidarī, Muḥt-e-A'zam*, Preface, p. 2.

2. Page 181 supra, footnote No. 1.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 12.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Şaidarī, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 86.

5. Pages 21-41, supra.

6. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 96.

In the unseen tavern of Divinity,
 The cup-bearer, the wine, and the bacchanal were all drunk
 together.
 The flute, the melody, and the heart-ravishing minstrel,
 Were all hidden behind the curtain of the instrument of
 Unity.]

The last hemistich of the verses quoted above shows that Pure Being marked its first approach to manifestation in Ahadīyya (احدیت), i.e. Abstract Oneness. After this Being descended to Wāḥidīyya (واحدیت), i.e. Unity in Plurality, and then the attributes, the contingent, the intelligences, the spirits, the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms appeared. This, in brief, is Bedil's scheme of Ontological Devolution. Bedil's purpose in describing this scheme was largely to emphasise Man's position in the Cosmos. Bedil says that Man is the spirit and life of the whole Universe—a Microcosmos in form but Macrocosmos in meaning :

به معنی محیط و به صورت نمی زوج نفس در نفس عالمی

[An ocean in meaning but a drop in form.

Through a puff of breath, a world in the cage.]

And he therefore tells Man:

ز شور تو این بزم دارد خروش ز خاموشی تست عالم خاموش

[Because of your agitation, there is tumult in this world and

The world becomes quiet when you are silent.]

The philosophical aspect of the Masnavī ends here, and when, after this discussion of the Ontological Descent of the Absolute, Bedil speaks about the ascent or return to It, the mystical aspect begins. As in the case of devolution, here also Bedil makes only brief references to the final destiny of Man when he is absorbed in the Pure Essence. He says :

پان نشه جمعی که محرم شوند ز غولی گدشتند و آدم شوند

ز آدم ملک از ملک نور پاک چنین ریشه ها دارد اسرار پاک

[The people who get acquainted with that secret wine,
 Cease to be ghouls, and become Perfect Men.

From Men they rise to the level of angels and thence get
 access to Pure Essence,

This is the effect of the sublime secret]

In the first hemistich of these verses, Bedil speaks of the intoxication of love. In fact the whole of the poem revolves round this single idea, and it would be very useful if I could describe, in detail, Bedil's views about love, but, at present, I must be content with a few remarks only. According to Bedil, Love is a universal passion.

بهر سر هوایی ازین باده است بهر خرمی این برق افتاده است

[Every head is exhilarated by this wine, and

This lightning has struck every stack.]

It sublimates and elevates :

شرابی کزو سنگ آدم شود تن مرده روح مجسم شود
ازین باده عفریت اگر بو برد بفرمان زند و سیان گو برد

[It is a wine which transforms stone into Man, and
Through it a lifeless body becomes an embodiment of spirit.
If a demon only smells this wine,
It will excel the angels in authority.]

Moreover, it enlivens, gives strength and has vast potentialities.

لب پشه زین باده گر تر شود بسیرغ و عنقا برابر شود
اگر ذره گردد ازو کامیاب کشد آئینه بر رخ آفتاب
ازو ساغر قطره دریا شود دل مور دامان صحرا شود

[If the lips of the mosquito are made moist by this wine,
It will be a match to the monstrous Simurgh and the
Phoenix.

If the atom is saturated with it,
It will show a mirror to the Sun
Through it the tiny cup of the drop changes into ocean and
The heart of the ant becomes an extensive Sahara.]

Above all it is because of love that man is delivered from the contaminations of the phenomena :

ز صافش توان رستن از آب و گل ز دردش توان کرد تعمیر دل

[Its purity will extricate you from the phenomena and even
From its dregs a heart can be made.]

In the course of this dissertation, Bedil speaks about the Sufis' spiritual organ, i.e. 'Mind' (دل), whose nature, he says, is intellectual rather than emotional :

دل آن شعله برق ادراک تست که پوشیده در صفحه خاک تست

[The heart is that flash of the lightning of perception,
Which is hidden in the page of your dust.]

Bedil refers to the opposite qualities which heart comes to have when it is darkened by sin or illuminated by faith and knowledge. Our mystic asserts, in addition, that not pride of virtue and asceticism, but a humble acknowledgement of one's drawbacks makes one esteemed in the eyes of God :

کمال ترا کس خریدار نیست ستاعی بجز نقص درکار نیست
ز جنس شکست آنچه پیدا شود برین آستان تیمتش وا شود

[None will buy your perfections.
The only commodity wanted here is imperfection.
Whatever is offered out of the goods of failings,
Will fetch price at this altar.]

Having described these things Bedil sums up the characteristics of gnostics. He says they observe reticence, but have a warm and

restless soul; they are ever contemplating, ever prepared to bow before God, but always above formal prayers; and they are dignified, humble in spirit, modest, generous, unceremonial, freedom-loving, intoxicated with the love of the Absolute, sharp-witted, and hateful of worldly desires. Bedil has also mentioned the names of Bāyazīd of Bisām (261/875), Junaid of Baghdād (297-9/909-11), Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj (309/922), and Jalālud Dīn Rūmī (672/1273), the prominent Sufis of Islam, whom he wishes to follow.

After a passing review of the mystical aspect of the Masnavi, we should talk about it as a bacchanalian song. Zuhūrī's (d. 1925 A.H./ 1616-7 A.D.) celebrated *Sāqināma* had won a wide popularity, and it was because of this popularity that, as soon as Bedil's creative talents were developed, he wrote a similar song, incorporating the good points of Zuhūrī, and adding what he thought to be essential. We learn from Bedil himself that he had Zuhūrī in mind when he wrote this poem. Bedil says, at the outset, after the usual doxologies, in the prose-preface to the poem :

این میخانه ظهور حقائق است نه ساقی نامه اشعار ظهوری

[It is the tavern for the revelation of truths and not the *Sāqināma* of Zuhūrī's verse.]

The fundamental difference between these two poems has been very aptly stated by *Khushgū*, the biographer of Bedil. *Khushgū* says² that Zuhūrī's *Sāqināma* is a poetical composition, but that of Bedil has been written in a mystical strain. This difference becomes all the more clear when both the poems are studied side by side. For example, both the poets have addressed the Cup-bearer in their poems. Zuhūrī's general drift of thought can be gathered from this address :

یا ساقی ای خرم گل بیا تو گل من خزان دیاده بلبل بیا
یا ای خرابنده طاؤس مست بنه بر سرم پاکه رستم زدست
یا ای پری نام ساقی لقب بمن برفشان رشع جام طرب

[Come, O Sāqī, all blossoms as thou art.

Come, come, thou art a rose, and I am a nightingale in the midst of autumn.

Come, O Thou, the strutting drunk peacock, and

Place thy feet on my head, as I am staggering.

Come, O Thou called fairy, and entitled Sāqī, and

Sprinkle on me drops out of the cup of wine.]

But Bedil's Sāqī has quite a different appearance and absolutely a different character. The following verses may be studied :

1. *Muhit-i-A'zami*, pp. 16, 30, 32.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

بیا ساقی ای نور مرآت قیض بیا ای نشاط خرابات فیض
 بیا ساقی ای شور منصور دل بیا ای گل شعله طور دل
 بیا ساقی ای عیسی روزگار که افسرده عالم بجیب خمار
 بیا ساقی ای بایزید زمان محیط گهرهائی راز نهان
 بیا ای نلاطون اسرار خم که گردیدام در خم جهل گم

[O Sāqī, thou light of the mirror of (Divine) grace, come hither.

Come hither, O Sāqī, thou exhilaration of the tavern of grace.

O Sāqī, thou agitation of heart's Manṣūr, come hither.

Come hither, O thou the glowing snuff of the flame of the heart's mount Sina.

Come Sāqī, O thou the Christ of the time,

Because I am troubled on account of being in the grip of drunken headache.

Come hither, O Sāqī, thou Bāyazīd of the age,

O thou, the ocean of the pearls of hidden secrets.

O, thou the Plato of the Secrets of the vat of wine, come hither,

As I feel bewildered in the vessel of ignorance.]

It may be seen that Zuhūrī's is an ordinary fair-faced coquettish sāqī, but the sāqī of Bedil is the finest production of the best mystical speculations. I need not dilate on this difference any more, but I would like to say a few words about a few more points where Bedil tried to rival Zuhūrī. To assure the cup-bearer of their burning desire for a cup of wine, both the poets have sworn in an eloquent language, using rich imagery, novel similes and metaphors, and a wealth of sweet and elegant phrases. Zuhūrī had written¹ 95 couplets of Oath, and one could say that the subject had been exhausted by him, but, only half a century after his death, Bedil wrote² 123 couplets of the kind, which are of supreme literary value. Similarly, Zuhūrī wrote 15 couplets, in one breath, about heart (دل), and Bedil has written 13. Finally, Zuhūrī was very fond of employing³ the figure antithesis (صنعت تضاد), and very charming instances of this are found in his *Sāqīnāma* also. Bedil, too, used this figure in *Muḥīṭ-e-Ā'zam* with equal success. For example, these verses from the Oath :

به گلگونه چهره اشتیاق بعنابی اشک چشم قراق
 بهوشی که دارد لب بیبوشی بحر فیکه دارد لب خاموشی

[I swear) by the rouge of the face of longing ;

By the redness of the tear of the eye of separation,

1. Zuhūrī, *Sāqīnāma*, (Maṭba'at-e-Muṣṭafāi Press), pp. 23-27.

2. *Muḥīṭ-e-Ā'zam*, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 1524 ; fs. 82-86. In the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* only 77 couplets have been given.

3. 'Abdun Nābi *Maikhāna* (*Hawāshi*) ed. Muḥammad Shafī, p. 63.

By the consciousness possessed by the head of unconsciousness, and

By the talk made by the lips of silence.]

In view of the categorical difference between the two *Sāqīnāmas*, it is not difficult to imagine how Bedil would describe the wine, the cup, the goblet, the vat, the tavern, the tavern-hunters, and the different musical instruments placed in the tavern. They have all been assigned a symbolical significance. This peculiarity Bedil had consistently in view even while talking of his Metaphysics in the *Masnavī*. He begins with Pure Being, and notice how the bacchanalian terminology has been employed :

خوش آندم که در بزمگاه قدم من بودی نشه کیف و کم
منزه ز اندیشه حادثات مبرا ز درد غبار صفات
نه مرهون طبع و نه محتاج کام منزله ز تسخیر مینا و جام

[How pleasant the times when in the Banquet House of Eternity,

There was a wine without its effects,

Transcending the thought of the temporal, and

Free from the dregs of the dust of Attributes.

It was neither indebted to appetite nor in need of throat, and

Was beyond the reach of the goblet and the cup.]

It is, of course, a very appropriate beginning and indicative of the earnestness of Bedil's soul. Indeed, the passionate way in which Bedil has sung of the wine and the flowing running verses of the *Sāqīnāma*, like the surging torrents coming downhill, make the poem an inspiring reading.

Now about the poem as a vernal song. There is no dearth of poetry, about the splendour and joy of the spring, in Persian literature, and almost every poet has sung about the rose-garden, the nightingale, and the meandering sweet streams. Bedil, therefore, inherited aesthetic taste from his forerunners. This, however, goes to his credit that, because of his vivid imagination and powerful description, he produced exceedingly beautiful poetry, whenever he talked about things of beauty. In this poem he has described, at length, the bloom of the spring in an exquisite manner, and I would like to quote a few verses :

بهاریکه در باغ توصیف او نفس می شود غنچه رنگ و بو
هوایی که از نغمه وصف آن رگ برگ گل شد سخن بر زبان
ز بس بیچکد موج رنگ از هوا چو جام است لبریز بشی نقش پا
زرنگش اگر بهره یابد نظر شود برگ گل پرده چشم تر

[It is a spring in describing which

The breath turns into a bud of colour and smell.

It is the air through the fragrance of whose praise
The speech on the tongue is changed into the vein of the
rose-petal.

A wave of colour trickles down the air, and
The footprint is overfull, with wine, like the cup.
If the eye gets a share from its colour,
The wet eyelid becomes the virtual rose-petal.]

Notice the sense of beauty, particularly in the last hemistich. Bedil had indeed a novel creative experience. While speaking about his state of mind, during the composition of this poem, he says, "At the time when the Vernal Ode of *Muhlî-e-A'zam* was taking form, and the oasis of its usefulness was developing, freshness, with the hue of the conceits of a hundred gardens, gracefully moved in the imagination; and elegance, with the beauty of a world of eloquence, pleasingly appeared before the mental eye."¹ Here Bedil talks about his conceits, his imagery, and his eloquence, and one who reads this description of the spring and goes through the *Maṣnavî* will surely reap a rich crop of these things.

I have spoken above about all the aspects of the *Maṣnavî*—philosophical, mystical, emotional and aesthetic—and have made references to its peculiarities. It is indeed one of the great *Maṣnavîs* of Persian language, and in fact a masterpiece of our poet. In it the young poet sang of wine, love, and beauty, and of his aspirations for a high ideal. His emotions had been sublimated by his apprenticeship as a mystic and this lent a novel charm to his poem. Like an ambitious thoughtful youth, the poet tried to cover the whole of Reality by his Philosophy. Such an all-embracing poem, making an impassioned appeal alike to the heart and to the mind, ought to have been received warmly by the public, but it is a pity that it was not popular in the beginning, and when Bedil sent² it, with some of his *Ghazals*, to 'Aqil Eḥsān Rāzī, he had to pray :

یا رب که این نفسها به موزون نهم و این عبارها بتارسانی علم از پرتو
مجل آفتاب منزل شمع اعتباری روشن نمایند

[May these utterances, which are accused of having rhyme,
and these expressions, which are known for their unpopularity, light the candle of honour through the reflection
of that assembly, which is the destination of the sun.]

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safīārī, Chahār 'Unṣur*, p. 86. Bedil writes:

فصلی که بهار به محیط اعظم به نظم ترتیب رسید و نخلستان فوایدش به نشو و
نمایی تحریر کشید برنگینشی معانی هزار چمن شگفتگی در تصور آباد خیال نازش
داشت و به گفتروشی عبارات یک جهان آب و رنگ در جلوه گاه نظر طراوت
می کاشت -

2. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 13.

This prayer was granted and a time arrived when people eagerly requested¹ the poet to give them copies of this *Masnavi*, and, I am sure, because of its sterling virtues, it will always be studied with undiminished interest.

2. TILISM-E-HAIRAT

Bedil wrote this *Masnavi* in 1080 A.H.² (1669 A.D.) according to the following chronogram.³

کهن تاریخ عقل زمان یاب بی تاریخ نظمش بود بیتاب
سر اندیشه تا دزدید در جیب برون آورد گنج از عالم غیب

Bedil had joined the Army⁴ after his marriage in 1079 A.H. (1668 A.D.), and we, therefore, come to the conclusion that he was still in the service of Prince A'zam *Shāh* when the *Masnavi* was written. I think his sad experience about *Muhīt-e-A'zam* had taught Bedil that the new *Masnavi* could be a success if it was dedicated to a scholar-courtier⁵ of the reputation of 'Āqil *Khān Rāzī*. The poet was, therefore, overjoyed when he learnt that the grand noble had agreed. He thanked him and wrote :⁶

صد شکر که برد نامه ام رنگ قبول بیدل بودم هزار دل گرد بدم

[Numberless thanks to God, as my request in the letter has been granted.

I was without even a single heart, and now I possess a thousand.]

But this dedication did not fulfil the expectations entertained by Bedil. He, therefore, sent it to Nawāb *Shukrullah Khān* the son-in-law of 'Āqil *Khān Rāzī*, and at the end of the introductory letter⁷ he wrote :

1. Page 121 supra.

2. Sprenger's apprehensions about his inability to solve the chronogram were not baseless. He has given 1123 A.H. (1713 A.D.), as the date of the composition of this *Masnavi*, which is palpably incorrect. 'Āqil *Khān*, to whom the book was dedicated, and *Shukrullah Khān*, to whom it was sent by Bedil, both died in 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that Sprenger's attempts at solving the chronogram have proved ineffectual, and that Etche and the author of the Bankipur catalogue have both followed Sprenger, in this respect, in an uncritical spirit. The solution of the chronogram is not at all difficult. If we subtract 73, the numerical value of گنج, from 1153, the numerical value of عالم غیب, we get 1080, the Hijri year of the *Masnavi*'s composition. For the references in this note see Sprenger, *Oudhe Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, p. 379; Etche, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 1684; *Bankipur Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, under No. 382.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Şafdari, Tilism-e-Hairat*, p. 9.

4. Page 60 supra.

5. Page 56 supra ? 'Āqil *Khān Rāzī* wrote also *Waqi'at-e-Ālamgiri* also.

6. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

شاد باش ای دل که آخر عقده ات وایمی شود
قطره ما می رسد جائیکه دریا می شود

[Feel delighted, O my heart, because your knot is after all being opened.

My drop will reach the place where it will turn into an ocean.]

The *Khān* gave headings¹ to the different sections of the *Maṣnavī* and prepared a summary of its contents. It was, therefore, this *Maṣnavī* which established the happiest² relations between these two persons, and, although in point of theme, depth of feelings, and spontaneity of expression, this *Maṣnavī* is inferior to *Muḥīt-e-A'zam*, yet for practical purposes it proved more fruitful, because with it Bedil's place as a poet was recognised.

In the *Maṣnavī*, as well as in his *Ruq'āt*, Bedil has referred to the circumstances in which the *Maṣnavī* was written. He had settled³ in Dehlī after his marriage. He found there many poets, having voluminous⁴ *Dīwāns*, who attended mainly to niceties of expression, fanciful conceits, and conventional poetry, but they lacked thoughts. On the other hand, there were poets who had thoughts, but their verse lacked the necessary decorative element. While sending *Tilism-e-Hairat* to Nawāb Shukrullah *Khān*, Bedil remarked⁵ :

These days the people, who attract our notice by the freshness of their colourful expression, show utter disregard for meaning ; and the persons, who, on account of their regard for the meaning, boastfully talk of their originality of mind, attach no value to the elegance of expression. The meanings, therefore, are like the melody hidden in some unknown musical instrument, and the language consists of unintelligible songs.

When Bedil observed these defects in the compositions of his contemporary poets, he decided to effect a reform. He wanted to write something which should be the positive counterpart of what he had seen in other poets. He wished that in his composition the ideas and their expression should balance each other in a most beautiful manner. He prayed⁶ to God for a suitable theme, and one night he was thinking deeply, when all of a sudden an idea flashed in his mind. It began to develop and very soon his mind was full of ideas :

1. See *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 63.

2. Page 84 supra.

3. Page 60 supra.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, p. 9.

5. *Ruq'āt-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, p. 8.

هجوم آورد چندین معنی راز که بستن از عبارت کرد پرواز
زدل تا لب معانی بر معانی برنگ نقش پانی کزوانی

[So many secret meanings gathered

That they flew off the grips of language.

There were meanings piled over meanings right from the heart to the lip,

Like the footprints of a caravan.]

He, therefore, commenced writing this *Masnavi*, and when he finished it he was satisfied with the result. Later, when he was sending it to Nawāb *Shukrullah Khān*, he wrote¹ :

Consequently it is ages since the language of *Tilism-e-Hāirat* of Bedil has crept into the narrow corners of the meanings, and its meanings have concealed themselves under the cover of the words.

He was complaining against the bad taste of the people who could not appreciate a poem in which thought and expression had balanced each other beautifully. This shows Bedil's opinion about this *Masnavi*.

Tilism-e-Hāirat is an allegorical *Masnavi*. It begins with a description of the Essence and Attributes of God, and of the scheme of creation. From a study of the contents of this part of the *Masnavi* one concludes that, while writing it, Bedil had in view this verse of the Holy Qur'ān (lvii. 3) :

هو الاول ولاخر والظاهر والباطن

[He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (overall) and the Knower of all hidden things.]

Here Bedil's prayer :

شوم رازی که در گفتن ننگیم زخم جوشی که من در من ننگیم

[May I change into inexpressible secret, and

May I feel overpowering excitement !]

for the development of his own self brings to our mind his following verse in *Muḥit-e-A'zam* :

کنم گرم هنگامه ساز خویش ننگیم به پیراهن راز خویش

[My frame should get uproarious like a musical instrument,

So much so that the covering of my secret may not be able to contain me.]

It means he was still passing through the formative period of his life, of which he was fully aware. After this he praises the Holy Prophet in a very original manner :

زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد که با نام محمد آشنا شد

زهی نامی که جال دیوانه اوست بم وزیر جهان پروانه اوست

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 3.

دو عالم چون صدق در هم شکستم که آمد گوهر نامش بدستم
دل از تفسیر این اسم است آگاه ز رمز معنی الحمد لله

[My tongue was able to praise God,
Because it got acquainted with the name of the praised one.
How excellent the name, for which the soul is frenzied with
love, and

Everything in the world loves it passionately.
When I opened both the worlds like the pearl-oyster,
Lo, the pearl of his name was in my hands.

Through an explanation of this name the heart knows

The mystery of the meaning of "All praise is due to Allah."]

The simple and unadorned language of the verses, the gradual development of the idea, and the sublime and graceful thought contained in them are simply wonderful. From the metaphysical point of view, the Prophet has been represented as Logos—the doctrine which tends to identify the essence of Muhammad (حقیقت محمدیه) "with the active principle of revelation in the Divine Essence." This idea seems to have been borrowed¹ from Muhyud Din Ibnul 'Arabi (638-1240) and 'Abdul Karim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī (b. 1365-6 A.D., d. 1406-17 A.D.), but probably from the former². The following verse of Bedil may be studied in this connection :

ظهورش غازه تنقید آفاق بطونش بی نیازیهای اطلاق

[His externality is the rouge of the confines of the Universe,
and

His internality is the majesty of the Absolute.]

The summary of the Maṣnavī now follows. Soul, the monarch of the exalted Dominion of Holiness, came down to have a walk through the sub-lunary world, and resided in a pleasant place, called body, which is governed by phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile—the four humours. The king selected for itself three citadels, one of them being brain, this citadel had ten stations, and at every station there was a master, their names being : the five senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch), commonsense, fancy, reflection, imagination and memory. The last five are the internal senses. After this the soul, i.e. the king, moved towards the citadel of Liver, where there were eight teachers—nourishment, growth, generation, figuration, attraction, retention, digestion, and expulsion. The third citadel was the heart where six persons resided. They were

1. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 87, 104 foll., 154 foll.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942. Khushgū has remarked that Bedil was inspired by Ibnul 'Arabi. Khān Arzū also said in his elegy of Bedil :

این عربی بود به فرسی

[He was Ibnul 'Arabi in Persian language.]

hope, fear, affection, enmity, pleasure, and sorrow. The king, i.e. soul, drove away sorrow, fear and enmity from the heart and indulged in merry-making. But soon there was trouble and the king fell ill on account of the mutual jealousy of the humours and the conspiracy of the unpleasant emotions which had been driven out of the heart. Pleasure and affection asked the soul to approach beauty and love in this connection. Beauty and love, however, refused to help. Hope then invited reason who, out of compassion, came and was useful to a certain extent, but the situation deteriorated with the onset of weakness. Then resolution stood in good stead: the patient turned the corner and soon recovered. Now beauty formed a sincere alliance with the king, and then love too arrived. The king experienced bewilderment and restlessness, but was told that he could not attain his object without self-renunciation. The king, relying upon Trust and accompanied by Love, had a walk through the Realm of Belovedness; and, beginning with the feet, he saw the charms of the calves, the legs, the buttocks, the waist, the belly, the navel, the breast, the waists, the neck, the mole, the down, the dimple, the tresses, the lips, the mouth, the cheeks, the nose, the eyes, the eyebrows, the forehead, the curling lock, and the stature. As the king wanted to see Absolute Beauty, he then moved to the Realm of Lovingness. In this realm the lands of blame and misery, the valley of separation, and the region of body (اقلیم بدن) were seen one by one. In spite of his prolonged wanderings through the realms of Belovedness and Lovingness, the king's object was not attained, and naturally he was disheartened and disappointed. Love now told the king that both the realms were illusory, and that his own self was the Reality which prevailed everywhere. When the king found it out, he raised his eyes to have a look at his own self, and:

جهانی دید پاک از عرض صورت بهاری فارغ از رنگ کدورت

[He saw a realm free from the accident of form, and

The bloom of a spring immune from the taint of dust.]

It was the realm where the Absolute Essence of God had sway. Here the Masnavi reaches its end, and the poet reminds us of the import of this saying:

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

[He who knows his own self knows God.]

It is clear that the Masnavi has a very coherent plot. Nothing inconsistent has been introduced. The soul's stay in the body, the different faculties that serve it, the causes of its troubles, the ways in which those troubles can be alleviated, and the nature of its real destiny in the world have all been described with a scrupulous regard for proportion. Interest has been created by the lively debate

between the humours, the illustrative use of apt similes and metaphors, and by a description of the prolonged journeys of the soul as a monarch, which fact has introduced the element of movement in the *Maṣnavī*. While going through the summary of the poem one feels, when the humours and faculties are named, that it is a philosophical poem, having dry and tasteless discussions; but the treatment of the subject-matter, and the poet's rich imagination have changed it into a romance. The artistic description of the beauty points, the emotional tension, and the soft and tender language have collectively produced a romantic effect. The didactic element comes in only incidentally and appears to be a natural development of the idea, and then after a moment the narrative goes on as before. The poem is, therefore, a great success in conception as well as in execution. The poet's claim that thought and expression should balance each other has been well established in the *Maṣnavī*. The following two verses, about jealousy and revengeful spirit, would serve as an example :

شرار کینه هر جا شعله کار است اگر کهسار باشد پنبه زار است
حسد را در ضعیفی سهل شمار دم خنجر زیار یکست خونخوار

[Wherever the spark of vindictiveness produces flames,
Even if it be a mountain, it takes fire like cotton.
Don't belittle jealousy because of its weakness,
It is the thinness of a dagger's blade which makes it blood-thirsty.]

The *Maṣnavī* has 3,500 verses and has been written in *هزج مستحسن* *محلوف*, the famous metre of the world-renowned *Maṣnavī Yūsf Zulaikha* of Jāmī.

3. TŪR-E-MA'RIFAT

This *Maṣnavī* was written when Bedil went¹ to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān after he had finally settled in Dehlī. Bedil says that when the armies of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān moved² to that place, he too accompanied, because, a poor man as he was, he could not make the necessary arrangements for the journey, which he was most anxious to undertake.

Now, we see Nawāb Shukrullah Khān fighting³ against the rebellious Narūka, Bajjī Ram and his seven sons, in Mewāt, in 1097 A.H. (1685-6 A.D.), and the Nawāb comes back⁴ to Dehlī in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), with victorious colours, after he had completely routed⁵

1. Page 91 supra.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4.

3. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, *Qig'āt*, p. 49.

4. Ibid, p. 51.

5. Ibid.

the Narūkas in 1098 A.H. (1686-7 A.D.). One can say, therefore, that Bedil went to Mewāt when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān proceeded to fight against Bajji Ram. But this Masnavī does not indicate at any place that the poet lived in Mewāt in the midst of active armies and constant warfare. On the other hand, it appears that the Masnavī was written at a time when there was perfect calmness all around, and when both, Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, could peacefully enjoy¹ the scenery of the place, and could find leisure to describe² it in verse. A few verses of Bedil disclose³ that, before he went to Mewāt, he had heard much about the beautiful scenery of Bairāt. In all likelihood it was Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who told Bedil about the charms of the place, and the Nawāb could not do it before his return from Mewāt in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.). Moreover, immediately⁴ after his final arrival in Dehli in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.), Bedil asked Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, in a letter, to arrange permanent residential quarters for him; and from this we form the conclusion that when Bedil arrived in Dehli from Mathura, with his family, in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.), Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was already in Mewāt, and, therefore, Bedil had to request for the house in a letter. All this shows that Bedil did not go to Mewāt when the Nawāb's armies first moved towards the place. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was the Governor (Faujdār) of Mewāt till he died there⁵ in 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). I am, therefore, of the opinion⁶ that Bedil accompanied Nawāb Shukrullah Khān when he went to Mewāt for the second time after 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), and it was then that the Masnavī *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* was written.

The Masnavī has been written in the metre⁷ of *Tilism-e-Hairat*, which Bedil wrote about twenty nine years before in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.). It has two names: *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* and *Gulgasht-e-Haqiqat*, which occur in Bedil's Ruq'at⁸ as well as in the Masnavī⁹ itself. It was

1. Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4. Here Bedil tells how he was pleased to see the scenery.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. Here Bedil remarks that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān also wrote a poem describing the charming scenery.

3. Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 4.

4. Page 89 supra.

5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-e-Āzād*, p. 149.

6. In this connection see p. 91 supra also.

7. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

8. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 34, 49, 63, 46.

9. Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, pp. 2, 19. The following verses

زطور معرفت معنی سرازم بچندین کوه بی نازد مدایم
بیمش آخر این مکتوب منظوم به طور معرفت گردید موسوم

written in two¹ days and has about 1,200 couplets.² The *Maṣnavī* describes the scenes, during the rainy season, of Bairāt³ which is a town in Mewāt. The following introductory remarks,⁴ in prose,

آغاز بیان سیر بیراث و تحقیق سواد قدرت آیات

given at the top of the first section of the poem, make a reference to its character and declare that the poem is primarily a description of the scenery of Nature

Bairāt is surrounded,⁵ on all sides by low and bare red hills, and when, having crossed the rugged hilly ranges, one gets at once a glimpse of the circular valley, having very fine and abundant trees, with a beautiful town in its midst, one is surprised to see the fascinating scenery. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter,⁶ and from seven to eight miles in circuit. The valley, therefore, appears like the exquisite gem of a ring. Says Bedil :

زین ذوق طواف آن صنم زار چو مشتاقان بگردش گشته کهسار
فلک نازید بر انگشتر بنش که حاصل شد نگینی چون زینش

[On account of his intense desire to walk round the beautiful place,

The mountain circumambulated like the lovers.

The sky was proud of its ring,

Because it got a gem like its ground.]

When Bedil was in Bairāt, it was the rainy season, and the skies were overcast with clouds, with all those glories for which the monsoons in India are known far and wide. Bedil, who, being a mystic poet with a fine aesthetic taste, was much influenced by the sublime and the elegant, could not but be moved by these scenes. He says :

کنون در کوه بیراث آب و رنگ است
که هر یک بهر دل بردن فرنگ است

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 19. The following verse :

دوروزی در پس زانو نشستم خیالی را بهاری نقش بستم

[I sat meditating for a couple of days, and
Turned a thought into the spring.]

2. It is strange that according to *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375, the number of couplets is 3,000. The Manuscript, as well as the published, copies of the *Maṣnavī*, which I could lay my hands upon, have only 1,200 couplets, and also no catalogue of Persian Mss. gives a larger number.

Khushgū has also said that the maximum number of verses, that Bedil could write in a day, was 500, and when Bedil himself says this *Maṣnavī* was written in two days, how can the number of the couplets of the *Maṣnavī* be 3,000 ?

3. Page 92 supra.

4. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, 24th, Panjab University Library No. 1526, f. b.

5. Cunningham, A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 340-42.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-42.

[At present there is so much of light and colour in the hills of Bairāt,

That every one of them captivates the heart like a French beauty.]

Although Bedil has said that in writing this Maṣnavi he followed Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, who had written a poem describing the scenery of Bairāt, yet there is no denying the fact that Bedil himself was much impressed by the scenery, and as a consequence the creative urge was so powerful and the inspirational thrill, in his imagination as well in his emotions, was so acute that he could not express himself adequately in verse. He says sorrowfully :

بصد منقار می بالد زبانم	زدلگشت حقیقت تر زبانم
ولی گاه رقم خط سرمه ریز است	نوای ساز مطلب صور خیز است
معانی شور چندین حشر می بود	اگر از خط نمی شد سرمه اندود

[I have become eloquent on account of my walk through the valley of Reality, and

My tongue has grown into a thousand beaks,

The sound of the meaning's instrument plays riot,

But at the time of composition this sound is silenced.

If composition had not silenced them,

The meanings would have produced the tumult of the Resurrection.]

This Maṣnavi, therefore, does not consist of Nature-Poetry conventionally indulged in by Persian poets, but here we find a poet who sings about Nature because he must. A spontaneous production of this kind deserves careful consideration, and I shall, therefore, pause here for some time in spite of the limits imposed by my thesis.

As a piece of descriptive poetry of Nature, this Maṣnavi shows that Bedil had a highly developed and comprehensive landscape sense. Beginning with the small particles of dust and earth, he describes meadows, gardens, flowers, thorns, mountains, waterfalls, springs, clouds, raindrops, bubbles, the sky, and the evenings, and the mornings. The pictures drawn are under particular moments, and under particular moods. In the brief description of the Bairāt town, with its surroundings, Bedil speaks of all the objects mentioned above, with such a regard for the minutest details, that at the end of the section the complete picturesque scene of Bairāt appears before our eyes with all its brilliance. Not content with this, Bedil describes all the objects of Nature separately, and then he makes a magnificent display of his powers of description, his keen observation, and his vivid imagination. See for example the clouds with contrasts of shade :

1. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 64. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣāfīdarī, Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat*, p. 19. In the *Ruq'at* Bedil informed Aqil Khān Rāzī that Shukrullah Khān's poem inspired him to write *Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat*.

اگر ابر سیاهی قطره پیماست کواکب ریزی دامن شبهاست
وگر ابر سفید آتش عنان است همان صبح طرب شبم فشان است

[If the black could showers drops, it looks as if

The stars are coming down the skirt of night.

And if the white cloud breaks loose, it appears

The very joyful dawn is sprinkling dew-drops.]

Now he describes the stationary interwoven black clouds with rain-drops coming down :

چه ابر آئینه ناز گل و مل بهار صد شبستان زلف و کاکل
ولی زلفی که از یک جنبش باد هزاران دل تواند کرد ایجاد

[What cloud?—the mirror of the blandishments of the Rose
and wine, and

The delight of a hundred closets of tresses and curls:

But they are like a lock of hair, which by a slight movement
in the air,

Can invent a thousand hearts.]

But the realistic effect, when Bedil describes the flying clouds with flashes of lightning, is splendid :

گاهی از ابر بر آفاق خندد گاهی بر خاک سیل گریه خندد
به تیغ کوه گاهی سینه مالد گاهی گیرد ره دشت و بنالد

[At times it laughs at the world through the clouds, and

At times lets down a stream of tears on the dust.

Sometimes it rubs its breast against the mountain-peak, and

At one time flies away to meadows and weeps.]

The falling of rain-drops is a scene where Bedil's creative imagination is at its best :

گهرهائی محیط عالم پاک ز غلظاتی روان تادامن خاک
جهان روشن چراغ یزم اقبال از بی پروانه هائی بی پرو بال
به آهنگ چکیدن بسته محمل ز اوج ییخودی یک کاروان دل

[The pearls of the ocean of the sublime world

Roll down to the ground through roundness.

The world appears to be the bright lamp of an august
assembly,

Because of these wingless moths,

With the object of dropping down, is journeying

A caravan of hearts from the highest point of rapture.]

Brilliant metaphors of this kind continue for a considerable length.

Here and there, in the *Maṣnavī* one comes across fantastic exaggerations, for example :

هوائیش طبع را چندان مقویست
که آنجا بی نفس هم می توان زیست

[Its climate is so invigorating,

[That there one can live even without breathing.

ز سیر آبش گر حریف نوشتی
توان در جوئی مسطر راند کشتی
و ضربی گو کند زاهد باین آب
عصا فواره گردد سیحہ دولاب

[If you write a word about its dampness,
A boat can be plied in the stream of the ruler.
If the ascetic makes ablutions with this water,
His staff will turn into a water-spouting spring and his
rosary will become a water-wheel.]

But it will be seen that these exaggerations have their origin in reality, and hence these may be termed simply instances of سنی آفرینی which was the predominant literary trend of Bedil's times. In this Maṣnavī, when Bedil says at one place :

بهر سو لعه نظاره تیز است

[From every direction the rays of the scenes dazzle the eyes.]
and thus emphasises the descriptive nature of the poem, at another place he makes a reference to its conceits also :

ز تنزیهش معانی حسن بیرنگ

[On account of its transcendence the meanings assume a
colourless beauty.]

These extravagant expressions, therefore, may be viewed in this context.

A study of the colour-sense of Bedil is equally interesting. The damp climate, the varying hues of the sky, and the dust-washed brilliance of the scenery gave an opportunity to Bedil to make an extraordinary display of his colour-sense. The splendour of the rainbow has been described in this way :

گر از وصف قزح گیرد بیان رنگ
چگونه چیست این نقش تعیر
رنگ ابر بهارستان تیرنگ
پر طاوس صرف رشته دام
بیالد از زمین تا آسمان رنگ
که خم شد این زبان دوش تفکر
طاسم ریشه درویش در چنگ
خیال لعل نو خط بر لب جام

[If expression gets coloured by the description of rainbow
Right from the earth to the sky, the colour would grow,
What should I say about this wonderful painting ?
Because this time have bent the shoulders of thinking.
It is the streak of the cloud of a marvellous spring.
Or the talisman of the tassel of a carefree person is in hand.
Or the peacock's feathers have been used as the strings of
snare.

working in his mind in the following¹ verses :

زهر سنگی عیان بی قیل و قال مرستی و زانوئی خیالی
نمیدانم باین مستان چه روداد که هر جا هر کدام افتاد افتاد

[Indisputably through every stone one can see
The head of a drunkard on the knees of thought.

I don't know what happened to these tipsy people,
Because everyone remained where he happened to be.]

When we have studied these verses, we almost feel persuaded to show utmost reverence to the stones :

مباد اینجا زنی بر سنگ دستی که مینا در بغل خفته است مستی
[Be careful, you don't strike your hands against a stone,
Because a person drunk may be asleep with a goblet under
his arm.]

And this is the climax. Sympathies with inanimate Nature are here unique and supreme. Elsewhere, in this poem, Bedil's aesthetic taste finds lovely virgins in the stones :

براء انتظار ماست دلنگ پرزاد شرور در شیشه سنگ
[On account of having waited for us for a long time, are
aggrieved

The fairy-born sparks in the glass of stone.]

In conjunction with this depth and universality of feeling we find the undercurrent of another thought running in the mind of the poet. We have already studied his views about Man as the epitome² of creation. His belief about the vast potentialities of the microcosm urges him to regard every smaller object with respect and honour, and he appears to have the idea that all objects of the kind have similar potentialities. About the bubble he says³:

که عمر خضر بالذات حبابش
[From its bubble would grow the life of Khizr—the Prophet
Iliās].

The drop is described in this way⁴ :

کدامین قطره شوقی آریده ز دقت یجر در گوهر خزیده
[What drop?—Eagerness personified.

Through subtlety an ocean hidden in a pearl.]

Similarly, the thorn⁵, according to Bedil, is not a commonplace thing :

بن هر خار صد گلشن در آغوش

[The tip of every thorn has a hundred gardens in its bosom.]

And the microscopic particle of dust:⁶

1. Kulliyat-e-Şafdarî, *Tar-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 10.

2. Page 247 *supra*.

3. *Tar-e-Ma'rifat* p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

6. *Ibid.*

دل هر ذره اش تخم بهاری

[The heart of everyone of its atoms is the seed of a spring season.]

And lastly as regards a handful¹ of dust, Bedil has a similar belief:

نہاں در هر کف خاکی جہانست

[In every handful of dust a universe is hidden.]

These ejaculations tell that it is the poet's own self² speaking through the smaller objects.

This influence of Bedil's Metaphysics brings into limelight the intellectual element in his poetry, and we are reminded that in his poetry, mysticism, and philosophy are all one. So far as this Masnavi *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* is concerned, we learn from Bedil's *Ruq'at* that he himself was fully aware of this unity of thought in this poem. To Nawāb Shukrullah Khān he wrote³:

معنی نوازا - طور مینوشت از هجوم دیدۀ انتظار سامان یک عالم چراغانست
و به هوائی نثار آن کلیم ایمن حقیقت صد هزار گوهر معنی پدایان

[Patron of Learning! *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, on account of a crowd of waiting eyes, has equipment for the illuminations of a world and, in order to make an offering to that interlocutor with God, in the Secure Valley of Reality, it has in its skirt a hundred thousand pearls of conceits.]

In this sentence it has been told that the Masnavi embodies poetry, mysticism, and philosophy. Again, to 'Āqil Khān Rāzi⁴ he wrote that it is گلگشت حقیقت, i.e. the Pleasure Ground of Reality. Similarly, to Mirzā 'Ibādullah⁵ he intimated that the poem has امعات حقیقت, i.e. Rays of Reality. But while writing to Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn 'Irfān⁶ the reference was a bit more elaborate:

در تعمیم عبارتش مدعای خاص مندرج توان یافت و از تخصیص معنیش
حقیقتی انحصار می توان شگافت

[In the general terms of its language, a particular idea has been couched, and from its special purpose the most special truth can be discovered.]

If I speak at length about all the aspects of this Masnavi, I shall only be repeating what I have said elsewhere in the foregoing pages

1. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, p. 6

2. It is because of this that he again forcefully urged in this Masnavi to study self:

معما معانی
اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکشا
[You are a riddle, a riddle, a riddle,
If you wish to solve it, open your eyes.]

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 49.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of this work. I shall, however, quote a few verses to show how symbolically the poet enumerates the characteristics of a gnostic. He writes about the bubble :

که خیراتی ز نقش اوست پیدا	ز تهمی وضع نجابت بی سرو پا
نگه به شرم غفلت دیده بسته	نفس در دامن دل پاشکسته
نگاه و چشم ترور و قفائش	دل و ضبط نفس دامن پائش
و گریا از خودش بیرون سفر نیست	اگر چشم است بر عرش نظر نیست
کلاه آرای ناز از وضع آداب	چو ساغر پادشاه عالم آب
خموشی همچو آب نقش نگینش	خیا چون چشم حسن آهنگش
تبی از خود شدن سامان نازش	سیکروخی وقار امتیازش

[How excellent is the round shape of the bubble.

Its very form expresses bewilderment.

Its breath has stopped dead in its heart, and

Its glance has closed itself because of shamefulfulness for negligence.

It is out and out a heart with self-restraint, and

From every side it is a glance and a wet eye.

If it is an eye it does not look towards others, and

If it is a foot it does not journey out of itself,

Like the cup it is the monarch of the realm of water, and

By observing the rules of decorum it feels exultant.

Modesty, like the eye-pit, is its steel-fort, and

Silence, like the lip, is the painting on its gem :

Lightness of spirit is its proud distinction, and

Self-renunciation is the cause of its dignity.]

Moreover, Bairāt was known for its copper¹ mines. While speaking of the mines and the mineral wealth² of the place, Bedil had occasion to criticise the wealthy people on account of their "stone-heartedness" and their pride. He is, however, all praise for those rich persons who are humane and good.

As regards the literary peculiarities of the *Masnavi* we find the same soft and elegant expression, the same fresh and fair combinations of words, the same original conceits, the same materialisations³ of

1. Cunningham, *An Ancient Geography of India*, p. 342

2. *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, pp. 11-12.

3. For example :

حدیث سبزه اش زیبا بیان شد سخن تا گل کند طوطی عیان شد

[The talk of its verdure adorned the expression, and hence

The talk appeared in the form of a green parrot.

زمینتابش اگر گیرد سخن تاب چکد از جبهه حسن بیان آب

If the verse borrows lustre from its moonlight,

Brilliance will trickle from the forehead of graceful expressions.

the abstract, the same lively discussion¹ of the abstruse, and the same emotional flow and thrill for which Bedil has been praised in these pages. The traits, which distinguish this *Masnavi* from the other works of Bedil, have however been mentioned here and there in the course of discussion. The *Masnavi* occupies a unique place in Persian literature, because, although the great Persian poets like Firdausi (d. 416/1025-6), Minuchihri (d. 433/1041), Nizami of Ganja (d. 599/1202-3), Sa'di (d. 1291 A.D.) and others have described Nature² in their own way in their works, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* of Bedil is almost the only *Masnavi* whose theme is Nature - poetry,³ and if in it there are references to other topics, philosophical or mystical they are only casual.

4. 'IRFĀN

This *Masnavi* was completed by Bedil in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) according to the following chronogram given at its end, which at the same time serves the purpose of dedication:

کرده تاریخ او نیاز کرام هدیه ذوالجلال والا کرام

Khushgū says⁴ that the *Masnavi* was completed in thirty years. It means it was begun in 1094 A.H. (1682-3 A.D.), when Bedil was living in Mathura.⁵ In a letter to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Bidil⁶ writes that he was writing this poem, *'Irfān*, and his prose-work *Chahār*

دمی کز وصف رنگش بر فشان بود نفس طاؤس فردوس بیان بود

[At the moment when the description of its colour began,

The breath became the peacock of the paradise of expression]

It may be seen that the invisible is being made a part of our visual imagery.

1. Read the following:

دوی حرف است و ما تمثال حرفیم که در حد مطلب نایاب صریفیم
درین تمثال ها شخصی است موجود که صد تمثال پیدا کرد و نه نبرد
لباس جلوه بیرون از قیاس است دو عالم شوخی رنگ لباس است

[Dualism is only a mode of speech and we are the image of the speech, and

We have been employed in (expressing) a hundred unintelligible propositions.

In these images there is a Person.

Who produced numberless images but did not show Himself.

The modes of manifestation are unimaginable, and

Both the worlds are only a gay show of the colour of the mode.]

2. See Shibli, *Shi'rul-Ajam*, I, II, III, IV.

3. I would direct my readers to go through my article about this *Masnavi*, which appeared in *Makhzan*, Lahore, for August 1930.

4. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942.

5. Page 85 *supra*.

6. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, p. 69.

'*Unsur* simultaneously, and at page 6 of *Chahār 'Unsur* Bedil writes that he was then fortyone years old, indicating thereby that this prose-work was also begun in 1094-5 A.H. (1682-4 A.D.). This fact is corroborative of what Bedil writes in his letter, mentioned above. *Khushgū* has also stated that the metre² of '*Irfān*', is the same which great Sanā'ī employed for his celebrated *Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*³ i.e. ناعلاتن مفاعلاتن فعلاتن. This metre, according to Browne,⁴ is halting and unattractive.

Not only that the metre of both the *Maṣnavī*s is the same but they resemble each other in other respects also. Both of them deal⁵ primarily with mysticism, they have ten⁶ chapters each, and every chapter in both of them has a distich for its rubric. These things go a long way to prove that Bedil, like Rumi⁷ and other mystic poets, was largely influenced by Sanā'ī. About the time when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) the literary people in India must have rededicated their energies to the study of Sanā'ī owing to almost missionary

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Chahār 'Unsur*, p. 6.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375.

3. Stephenson, J., *The First Book of Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*, (tr.) preface, XXV; Faqīr Shamsud Dīn, *Ḥadīqatul Balāghat*, p. 146.

4. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 319.

5. About '*Irfān*', Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss.* f. 707a; 'A poem treating of Sufi Doctrines'; *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375:

سراسر گنگوی تصوف و معارف دارد

It has throughout discussions about mysticism.

About *Ḥadīqa*: Stephenson, *The First Book of Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat*, XXVIII; Shīblī, *Shi'ar ul 'Ajam*, I, p. 181.

6. *Ḥadīqa*, with commentary of 'Abdul Latīf, Index, p. 8. As regards '*Irfān*', Dr. Rieu speaks in the *British Museum Catalogue*, at f. 707a, that it has such like headings, but he does not give any. In Kābul, however, I saw the following, written by hand, in the beginning of the different chapters of the *Maṣnavī*, in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, which was in the library of one Ḥaṣṣ Nūr Muḥammad. The first, the seventh, and the eighth headings were however missing.

شوخی زمزمه دهقان
که بهشت بود اقبال و غنا
علم و فضل است کمال انسان
حکمت است انجمن آرای خیال
نیست جز سلطنت اقبال و ظهور
آمد از کار گه عقل برون
ختم جمعیت و تحصیل کمال

عرض آهنگ نوائی ثانی
چشم ثالث زدگان من و ما
قسم رابع که درو هست عیان
طور خامس که زساز اعمال
حکم ششم که درین دار غرور
نقش سابع که همه علم و فنون
چهارده عاشر برچوع اشغال

7. Cf: the famous couplet of Rūmī:

عطار روح بود و سنائی دو چشم او ما از پس سنائی و عطار آمدیم

zeal shown¹ by Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf in collating the different manuscripts of the *Hadīqa* and in commenting and annotating it in 1038 A.H. (1628-9 A.D.). Two² manuscripts of Khwāja Latīf's commentary, with text, exist in the Panjab University Library also, and one of them (of 1040/1630) is a very excellent copy. This fresh interest in Sanā'i might have induced Bedil to write a Maṣnavī similar to *Hadīqa*. As regards the number of verses in '*Irfān*', Bedil himself says that it has 11,000 lines:

لیک هر گه در شمار آمد بر زبان یازده هزار آمد

[But when counted

They were found to be eleven thousand.³]

and this is roundabout the number of lines in *Hadīqa* which is 11,500. On actual counting the number of couplets in '*Irfān*' came up to be a few hundred more than those stated by Bedil. Thus here is another similarity between the two Maṣnavīs. As Bedil wrote his '*Irfān*' in imitation of a most famous mystical Maṣnavī, and as he spent full thirty years of his life in composing it, he believed that '*Irfān*' had a high literary value. Khushgū says⁴:

بر آن مثنوی ناز می کرد - چنانچه اکثر از زبان مبارکش شنیده ام که آنچه ما داریم نسخه عریان است

[He was proud of that Maṣnavī and many a time I heard him saying that the only worthwhile thing he had was the Maṣnavī '*Irfān*.]

Bedil himself has confirmed Khushgū in a Ghazal. He says:⁵

درین عبرت سرا عرفان ما هم تازگی دارد
سراپا مغز دانش گشتن و چیزی نفهیدن

[In this abode of negligence our '*Irfān*' too has a freshness.

One becomes out and out the pith of wisdom without⁶ understanding anything.]

This much about the historical background of the Maṣnavī and other necessary details. We should now make an objective chapter-wise study of its contents.

1. Stephenson, *The First Book of Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, Preface XIV-XXV. Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf came to Lahore in 1037 A.H. (1627-8 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and after procuring and collating different manuscripts of *Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, he wrote such a masterly commentary of the Maṣnavī, that not only he became popular amongst his contemporaries, but also even now his name is inalienably associated with the Maṣnavī in the West as well as in the East. It is certain that but for his patient collation, no authentic text of the Maṣnavī would have been available to the world.

2. No. 253 of 1040, 1630, and No. 253-b of 1132-3/1719-20.

3. Stephenson, *The First Book of Hadīqatul Haqīqat*, XXV.

4. Khushgū, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 375.

5. Kulliyāt-e-Ṣāfidārī, *Ghazals*, p. 294.

6. Reference has been made here to the unknowability of God in spite of our best efforts,

The Maṣnavī opens with assertions with regard to Man being the epitome of creation, and the entire discussion is based on this central idea :

قلزم کائنات و هرچه دروست جوش بیتابی* حقیقت اوست

[The sea of the universe and whatever it has

Is the fermentation of his restless reality.]

and after pleading his point forcefully Bedil says :

کیست فهمد گر شمه* انسان

[Who can comprehend the miracle that Man is.]

His wonder grows when he beholds the insignificant body of Man :

نشت خاکی باین بسیطیها قطره آبی واین محیطیها

[A handful of dust having so much vastness? and

A drop as big as the ocean itself?]

Then Bedil praises the holy Prophet and speaks about him as Logos. Then he exhorts Man to realise and discover his self and incidentally speaks highly of India, its fertile plains, and pleasant climate. After this a most philosophical discussion ensues, in which Bedil talks of Life's struggle, for an unknown purpose, which began with eternity and will end in eternity, assuming always new forms and new shapes, and he begins this discussion with a statement of how thoughts (خیالات) are the material¹ of the Cosmos. After this there is again advice to Man and a discourse about Love and here the introduction ends.² The introduction has four interwoven stories.³

At this stage Bedil incorporates⁴ his Maṣnavī *Mir'ātullah*, which I saw in Kābul in the form of a separate manuscript⁵ also. This shows that it was an independent work, compiled before the

1. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, I can not do better than reproducing here what the learned author has said in the foot note : Mystics hold that God reveals Himself in five planes (ḥudara't) : (1) the plane of the Essence, (2) the plane of the Attributes, (3) the plane of the Actions, (4) the plane of similitudes and phantasy (Khayal), (5) the plane of sense and ocular vision. Each of these is a copy of the one above it, so that whatever appears in the sensible is the symbol of an unseen Reality." For a clearer wording of this idea, of Man being thought in essence, read Nicholson at page 84 of this book : "Man, in virtue of his essence, is the cosmic Thought assuming flesh and connecting Absolute Being with the world of Nature."

And also :

'Arifi : *Muhyid Din Iḥṣan Arabi*, 47-53.

'Arifi has told how the phenomenal world is believed to be the result of Thought or latent realities as he calls them.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, *ʿIrfān*, pp. 1-14.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7, 11, 13.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14-37.

5. In Ma'arif Library, Kābul.

composition of *Irfān*, and was incorporated because of identity of metre and subject. *Mir'atullah* deals exclusively with the Arc of Descent and Ascent, and whatever Bedil had said, here and there on this subject, in the form of brief references, has been expressed here with a regard for detail. The Masnavi discusses how the Pure Being became gradually qualified and the Cosmos appeared. In the first descent (Ta'yyun-e-Awwal), Bedil says, the Absolute became conscious of itself as Pure Being, and His consciousness of Attributes was only general. This was the stage of Unity. Then there was the second descent and Unity became conscious of Itself as possessing the Attributes in detail. After this stage of Necessary Existence, the Being got related with intelligence on account of determination, and Universal Intelligence came into being. Then Bedil explains the nature of intelligence (عقل) spirit, (نفس) substance (هیولی) etc., which, he says, are all conceptual entities. Bedil further says, substance (هیولی) assumed forms (صور), and, by another determination, changed into bodies, and heavens flashed about. Bedil enumerates all the heavens, with their characteristics, and tells of which Attribute each is the manifestation. He states that the heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon are, respectively, the manifestations of the Attributes رب (the Lord), علیم (the Knowing), قهار (the Supreme), نور (the Light), مصور (the Fashioner), محیی (the Omniscient), and مبین (the Manifest). Each of these attributes produces the effect inherent in it. Bedil holds that the entire creation is the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God. As regards the four elemental spheres of fire, air, water, and earth, Bedil tells that these are the effects of the Names قابض (the Seizing), حی (the Everliving), معی (the Life-giver), and مدمت (the Destroyer), respectively.

Descent ended with earth, and then Ascent ensued, because everything tends to return to its origin. In this way three kingdoms of minerals, vegetables, and animals proceeded respectively from the Names عزیز (the Mighty), رزاق (the Sustainer), and مزل (the Subduing). Man, being the flower of creation, appeared last of all, and was the manifestation of the Name جامع (the Comprehensive). Bedil waxes eloquent when he reaches here :

شد معین کنون که شاهد راز بهر این جلوه بود در تگ و تاز
منزل سیر مهر و ماه این بود مرکز سیر نه سیمر این بود
چشم حسین این زمان بخود و اشد حیرت آئینه تماشا شد

[Now it became definitely known that the Hidden Beauty
Had been making efforts for this manifestation.

1. While speaking about the celestial universe, Bedil has mentioned the following also :

فلک ثامن ، آسمان تاسع ، چرخ اطلس ، عرش عظیم ، بروج ، آسمان منازل

This was the destination of the journey, through heavens, of
the Sun and Moon, and

This was the pivot of the revolution of the nine heavens.

The eye of Beauty now opened on Itself, and

Bewilderment became the mirror of manifestation.]

At this stage, with an emphatic appeal to Man, the purport of which is :

گرچه وابانده دل خاکی برتر از صد هزار افلاکی

[Although you have been thrown down on the earth,

You are superior to a hundred thousand heavens.]

the *Maṣnavī Mir'ātullah* ends.¹ Several philosophical doctrines and various problems of Natural science have also been discussed in the *Maṣnavī*, but I have ignored them, because an independent treatise is required to do them justice.

As soon as *Mir'ātullah* ends, the *Maṣnavī 'Irfān* begins. Bedil says:

می شود ساز نسخه عرفان قصه از توجه انسان

[The composition of the poem, '*Irfān*', becomes

A story through the attention of Man.]

He tells that, as *Mir'ātullah* was an old composition, he was writing a poem which embodied fresh thoughts. The poem commences with the expression of a sense of bewilderment by Man because he was unable to understand the cause of beauty and of restlessness of spirit found universally in the world. Man, therefore, approached the sun for a solution of the dilemma, and was told that everything was due to Man himself. The sun then proceeded to illustrate it by a story, which ended with the end of the *Maṣnavī*. The story has been told in ten chapters. In the course of the poem several topics have been discussed, relative importance of many occupations has been emphasised, and numerous stories have been told. These features have made the *Maṣnavī* a comprehensive poem. As indicated in the beginning of this discussion, I would only give the bare outlines of the chapters.

The sun told Man about a gnostic who lived at the foot of a mountain. The gnostic had ten sons, and when he was dying, they requested him to advise them. They were told that the life had too little a span. Still, he added, one should try to attain perfection in keeping with one's capacities. With these words the gnostic breathed his last. After his death, his sons were absolutely idle for some time, and they were thus put into straitened circumstances. One day they sat together and decided that they should not sit idle any longer.

1. Bedil's theory of scientific evolution includes genii and angels too. He holds that angels are superior to men. These points too have been discussed here,

The eldest brother remarked that as they had different capacities and dissimilar views about life, they should first of all decide what should be done, lest owing to the unsuitableness of the aim, they should fail in spite of their best efforts. The youngest said that he would act upon the decisions arrived at by his elder brothers, but he could not refrain from saying that the life of poverty and helplessness was most troublesome, and only the rich people led a respectable life and their wishes alone were fulfilled in the world. Bedil tells here the story of a rich man who bought a fair-faced slave-girl, brought in the market by a trader, while a poor man, who loved her passionately, was consumed by love. After this story the chapter ends.¹ Besides this, eight² other stories too have been told in this chapter. Bedil has most emphatically denounced here the effortless life, and has preached that our life should be characterised by constant struggle and ceaseless activity. Study the following verses:

حیف پائی که مانند از رفتار وای دستی کزو نیاید کار

[Sorry for the feet which have ceased to walk, and
Woe unto the hands which do not work.]

کار صاحب نفس فسرده نیست که فسرده بنیر مردن نیست

[A living person should not be spiritless,
Because only the dead are spiritless.]

همت آسودگی نمی جوید شعله تا وقت مرگ می پوید

[High endeavour will never seek rest,
The flame runs up till its death.]

The second chapter³ is about peasantry. Towards the end of the first chapter, we left the ten sons of the gnostic deliberating about the choice of an occupation. In that chapter the occupations⁴ of the scholar, the painter, the tailor, the weaver, the blacksmith, and of the butcher were mentioned, and every occupation was considered to be honourable. In this chapter the peasants have been praised for they are the backbone of the society in every country, and it is due to them that everyone prospers in the world. Bedil tells a story how the minister of a king likened the peasant to the paradise, but, Bedil adds, this paradise is being reduced to hell owing to the greed of the kings. Most sadly Bedil remarks:

تا بجائی رسید ستمی غرور کز مزارع نمائد جز مزدور

[The doings of the proud people have resulted in
Reducing the tenant to the position of a labourer.]

At this stage the story of a cat has been told which lived in the

1. Kulliyât-e-Şafdarî, 'Irfân, pp. 37-72.

2. Ibid., pp. 27, 43, 46, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56.

3. 'Irfân, pp. 72-81.

4. Ibid. pp. 51-53.

wilderness to protect the rats from the vultures, and Bedil says that apparently just laws are framed to safeguard the interests of the peasantry, but in practice the poor folk are shorn of their fleece; Bedil is, therefore, of the opinion that it is a crime to be weak in the world :

نری آنت نصیبی دگر است نخرین بنیه نذر یک شر است
نیست از دست ناتوان حالی سوز را چاره زیبا مالی

[Softness is another misfortune,
The heap of cotton is reduced to ashes by a single spark.
On account of being weak and humble
The ant needs must be trampled down.]

and further :

گرز سختی الم نمی بردند سنگ را همچو آب می خوردند
[If its hardness were not to trouble them,

The people would have devoured stones like water.]

*The third chapter*¹ describes the blessings of trade and commerce. It is because of this occupation that one can undertake journeys to new cities and fresh lands and the wealth of the whole world is brought to one's own country. Moreover, the traders bring a wealth of information which could not be obtained otherwise. Bedil tells a long tale of learned men who reached the source of the Ganges and found out why its water was so sweet and pure, simply by adopting the profession of traders. It is a romantic tale, with thrilling incidents, described most impressively, and forms a good short story told in verse. The moral of the story is contained in this couplet :

همت مرد اگر کمند شود آسمان تا کجا بلند شود

[If the highmindedness of Man were to serve as rope-ladder,
The sky could not be too high.]

As in this chapter Bedil talked about the learned men, *the fourth chapter*² has been devoted to learning, enumerating its advantages. Above all, Bedil says, immortality can only be attained by learning. Here the story of Alexander the Great has been told who wanted to enjoy eternal life, and was therefore in search of the Water of Life. Bedil concludes that Alexander could not get the water, but he was made immortal by Aristotle, who wrote a book about the exploits of the conqueror. In the beginning of this chapter, Bedil displayed his ingeniousness by discussing the novel ideas suggested by the forms of the Persian letters.

*The fifth chapter*³ deals with scientific philosophy (حکمت). We know Bedil starts with noumena and gradually comes to the phenomena. In this chapter Bedil says that God's first Illumination was

1. *Irfaan*, pp. 81-94.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-103.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-117.

through His Attribute حکیم (the Wise), and then through His wisdom¹ gradually created the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms. Interest develops when Bedil begins to talk about mineralogy.² He tells how the different precious stones and the metals appeared, and also he gives proofs to show that minerals too have intelligence and feelings of love. While speaking of vegetables, Bedil proves that in them intelligence is at a higher level and hence purposive activity begins, and also memory, senses of hearing and sight, and modesty are discernible to a certain extent. In this evolutionary process, according to Bedil, moisture miraculously gives birth to animal soul, and movement from one place to another commences. Cavity appears in the body and thus enteric system, lungs, liver, brain, and other organs and faculties are developed. At this stage we see only instinctive activity. Evolution culminates in Man, and here again³ Bedil cannot contain himself :

آنچه از علم راز می گفتم چون به آنجا رسیدم آشفتم
بر زبان نام آدم آمد در نظر هر دو عالم آمد

[Whatever I spoke of my knowledge of secrets,
I got bewildered when I reached here.

The name of Man reached my tongue, and

Immediately both the worlds were before my eyes.]

Man is the most advanced stage of organic evolution and hence the qualities of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal souls are in Man in their most perfect form. The soul of Man, Bedil says, appertains to the spiritual world, and its perpetual strivings upwards, to reach God, elevate it over everything else. Bedil devotes a few pages to transmigration of souls too, and relates two stories about it, one related to him by a Hindu friend belonging to Southern India, and the other a true story which developed before his own eyes in Bihār. He appears to be impressed by these stories, but still he remarks that had the theory of the transmigration of souls been true, other nations and religions in the world too would have believed in it.

The sixth chapter⁴ is about the kings and their ways. Bedil says that the king who is just and who cherishes his subjects is indeed the shadow of God upon the earth. About the resolution of kings he says :

1. Wisdom or Knowledge of God is one of His Attributes which forms the basis of the theory of creation. Cf. Muzaḥfarud Din, *Muslim Thought and Its Source*, p. 115. The sixth chapter of the book, dealing with Hikmat, may be studied for understanding Bedil properly.

2. Ibn-e-Sina wrote a treatise about Mineralogy which was for a long time studied in the West. Cf. Shauṣṭery, A.M.A., *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, I, p. 184.

3. Read similar outbursts, p. 209 supra.

4. *Irḡān*, pp. 118-124.

دو جهان گر بسیل خون برود دامن عزم شاه تر نشود

[If both the worlds were to be swept away by the torrent of blood,

A king's resolution would not falter.]

In support of this Bedil has related two very nice stories. The second story has the elements of romance, epic, tragedy, and comedy, a splendidly brought together in one place. The expression is as elegant and as impressive as could be expected of Bedil. The high ambition and resolute will of kings remind Bedil of alchemists who, in view of the great advantages of gold, show equally great determination and spend the whole of their lives in this pursuit. The *seventh chapter*¹ of the *Maṣnavī*, therefore, has been devoted to alchemy, and Bedil tells the story of an alchemist whose endeavours bore fruit in his old age, and whose knowledge and experience proved useful to another man, after the alchemist had sacrificed himself for the attainment of his object. All along in the course of this chapter Bedil used only the terminology connected with alchemy.

The *eighth chapter*² is about enchantment, and Bedil says that this too is a true Art. Bedil expresses the opinion that the throne of the Queen of Sheba was brought to Solomon by the force of magic. Bedil relates here three stories to prove his assertions, and one of the stories is about his friend, one Ghani, a poor fellow from Balisar, who, under the influence of magic, found himself transplanted to Nilgiri Hills, where he led a lordly life, in a citadel, for full one year.

The *ninth chapter*³ is about intellect and reason. Here Bedil urges people to cherish noble aims, and forbids them to pursue mean and low sciences like alchemy and magic. He attaches utmost importance to intellect and says that it mirrors the universe and is the body of the soul. He would not tolerate contented puny people, but would praise and welcome the noble-spirited persons, full of love for highly intellectual pursuits, and fond of bold endeavour. He says, a man of this type :

گد زمیں گاہ آسمان گردد هرچه شوقش پسندد آن گردد

[Is at times the earth then the heaven ;

He becomes whatever he desires to be.]

In this chapter Bedil again relates stories. One is about a Brahman who was in search of the Effulgence of the Necessary Being and who learnt that not the sensible but the thoughts⁴ are the Reality. The other story is about a Jew who did not believe in the Ascension

1. *Trfān*, pp. 135-142.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-152.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-162.

4. About Thoughts being the basis of Reality, see p. 208 *supra*.

to skies of the holy Prophet of Islam, but, by a strange coincidence of supernatural character, he readily began to believe in it.

Bedil has been relating all this time the discourse made by the sun before Man, who wanted to understand the cause of beauty and restlessness in the Universe, and the sun had said that it was due to Man himself. In order to illustrate it, the sun had related the story of the ten sons of a gnostic who sat making deliberations, after the death of their father, about the choice of an occupation. Their discussions and consultations have brought us to this stage. The eldest brother, winding up whatever had been said on the point, remarked that the accomplishments, relating to their corporeal being, were of a limited character and they should, therefore, develop the capacities of their hearts and souls which would take them high up into the heavens. They, therefore, agreed to adopt Faqr (Poverty of soul, i.e. mysticism) as their profession, and love became their guiding spirit. This was the path of self-annihilation, but it did not mean any congealing of life's blood. On the other hand it meant restlessness of soul, constant struggle, and consuming love for the noblest Ideals. The sun told Man that in this way, in a year, every vestige of their sensual desires and earthly ambitions was gone, and the ten brothers were transformed into spirits and are now known as the ten Intelligences.

This is the end of *the tenth chapter*¹ and then the *epilogue*² follows, in which Bedil speaks about the Transcendence of God in this way:

او نه باغ و نه گل نه رنگ و نه بوست هر قدر او کنی تصور اوست

[He is neither the garden, nor the rose, nor the odour.

Whatever is pointed to be 'He' is but His conception.]

قرب تحقیق او مجال تو نیست شیر او گفتن احتمال تو نیست

[It is impossible for you to come nearer to comprehending Him, and

[It is not possible for you to call Him except by the pronoun He.]

تا کجا حرف کبریا گوئیم سخت دوریم تا کجا نوئیم

[How long should I speak about the Almighty?

We are far away. How should we speak?]

This is a brief summary of the contents of *'Irfān*, and, although the verses have been rendered freely, I have tried to make a correct exposition of the poet's thoughts. The summary may be inadequate, but I think all the essential points have been carefully analysed. As regards the style, this *Maṣnavi* embodies all the virtues

1. *'Irfān*, pp. 162-65.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

of Bedil's other *Maṣnavīs*. It describes scenes, landscapes, and towns; it relates thrilling stories, delineates character, and discusses morality, philosophy, and mysticism. No doubt, the *Maṣnavī Mir'ātullah* is boring; but *ʿIrfān* itself, on account of its perfect and graphic expression, absorbing stories, lively character-sketches, and usefulness in everyday life, is full of interest. The stories of the rich man who bought slave-girls, and the scholars² who went to find out the source of the Ganges, and also the tragic-comic³ story of Kamdi and Madan, have been told in an exquisite manner, and Bedil's Art is here at its best. Besides the literary interest of the poem and its thought-provoking discussions, its practical value, as I have hinted above, is by no means negligible. It lays premium on a life of struggle, and all through it a spirit of enterprise has been inculcated so much so that Bedil's definitions of توکل and صبر make one feel that instead of encouraging lethargy and inertia, their very conception means only a life of activity and endeavour :

هر که تخمی ز صبر می کرد	انتظار نتیجه دارد
کار ناکرده مزد خواستنت	دارد از انفعال گشتنت
ای بتدبیر جستجو عاری	انفعال است مزد بیکاری
کاهلی را کنی توکل نام	اینت گمراهی تصور خام

[Whoever sows the seed of patience,

He is only waiting for the result (of his efforts).

To ask for remuneration without having put in work,
Is extremely shameful.

O thou who art devoid of endeavour,

It is shameful to get remuneration for idleness.

You call idleness to be trust in God,

Sorry, your vain thoughts have gone astray.]

In view of these peculiarities of *ʿIrfān*, we hold Bedil justified if he was proud⁴ of it.

5. *MASNAVĪ TANBĪHUL MUHAWWISIN.*

It is a small *Maṣnavī*, of 210 couplets, about alchemy.⁵ It rebukes the alchemists very strongly for their vain efforts, and directs them instead to transform and sublimate their thoughts and sentiments. All the terms used by alchemists have been mentioned by the poet in such a manner that they contribute to the exposition of Bedil's views about the realities of life. The *Maṣnavī* has two sections. In the first, general remarks have been made, and in the second a story

1, 2 and 3. *ʿIrfān*, pp. 66-72, 83, 94, 121-134 respectively.

4. See p. 207 *supra*.

5. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qaṣīd*, pp. 64-67.

has been related about an alchemist who gave up his life in the pursuit of his accursed Art. *Khushgū* says¹ that Bedil did never believe in the efficaciousness of this Art.

6. THE DESCRIPTIVE MAṢNAVĪ.

Descriptions of the sword, the horse, and the elephant in verse, having the same metre, exist in the *Kulliyāts*² of Bedil. The aim of the poet has been to describe the appearance and the work of these things. Although their performances in the battlefield have also been mentioned, the poet's treatment of his subject is mostly fanciful, abounding in conceits. In view of all these similarities, I am of the opinion that these descriptions do not constitute different poems, but form different sections of the same poem. And as, like a *Maṣnavī*, all the verses rhyme differently, I conclude that the poem is a *Maṣnavī*. It has in all 536 couplets: 391 about the horse, 100 about the elephant, and 45 about the sword. As it is apparent from the number of verses, the horse has been described more elaborately. About a hundred couplets have been written about its general peculiarities, and then its head, neck, mane, fatness, shoulders, mouth, teeth, eyes, ears, tail, hair, and neighing have been dealt with one by one. The description is forceful, and shows the love of a *Mughal* of Central Asia for a horse. The largest number of verses, i.e. 49, have been written about the neighing of the horse, and the next place has been given to its mane for which 33 verses have been composed. The elephant reminds us that we are moving in the Indian environment. Specimens are now given below:

The sword when it is red with blood:

بهرجا کنی خلعت خون بر زشاخ زمرد چکد لعل تر
لبت گر شود تر بخون عدو نماید شفق دردم صبح او

[Whenever you put on the robe of blood,
Wet rubies trickle down the emerald branch.
If your lips become wet with the blood of the enemy,
It appears as if twilight has appeared at the time of morning.]

The horse running swiftly:

چو سرگرم جولان گری می شود هوا شیشه آن پری می شود
چو باوچه مستانه آید برون قیامت زمیخانه آید برون

[When it is engaged in a swift race,
The air becomes a glass for this fairy.
When it comes out dancing ecstatically,
A resurrection comes out of the tavern.]

1. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, *Ma'ārif Library*, Kābul, Ms. No. 504-2, ss. 51-66.

The elephant's firm stand and calm walk :

سناده است هر جا زطبع درشت زمیں چار سیخ است و گردون دو پشت
تقدم هر کجا در روانی فشرده باواز پایش کسی ہی نبرد

[Wherever it stands firmly,

The earth gets tortured and the sky is backed.

Wherever it places its foot in walking,

None can hear the sound.]

7. IŞHĀRĀT O HİKĀYĀT

As it is apparent from Appendix A, this is not an independent work, but consists of selected¹ verses from the four *Maṣnavīs* of Bedil: *Muḥit-e-A'zam*, *Ṭilism-e-Hairat*, *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, and *'Irfān*, and also from *Chahār 'Unsur*—the poet's autobiography in prose. As the selections are not from a single poem, they do not have the same metre throughout. The printed title of *Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt* discloses that it is related to *Nikāṭ*²—another similar work of Bedil in prose, but as the selections are mostly from the poet's *Maṣnavīs*, it was befitting to talk about the work in this chapter. But no detailed discussion of the work is necessary, as all the works, from which the selections have been made, have been treated separately in these pages. In the Appendix, however, I have given the subject-matter against every selection.

1. In the Appendix, at a few places, pages of the works, from which the verses have been taken, have not been given, simply because I could not find out the particular pages. The metre and subject-matter of the verses, however, disclose the work from which they have been selected. At two places I could neither determine the work nor the page.

2. See p. 350 *infra*.

CHAPTER VI

Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat, Tarkib Band, Tarji' Band, Fragments and Riddles of Bedil

I. QAŞĀID

Like *Ghazal* and *Maṣnavī*, *Qaṣīda* also had reached the highest point of its development when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.). Beginning with *Raudakī*,² numberless poets had written *Qaṣāid*, and even during the *Mughal* period, up to the birth of Bedil, several illustrious poets like 'Urfī (d. 999/1590-1), Faizī (d. 1004/1595-6), Nazīrī (d. 1023/1614), Tālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7), and Qudṣī (1056/1646) had very successfully tried their hands in panegyric-writing, and perfect specimens of the highest art were, therefore, available to Bedil in plenty. No doubt, Bedil was averse³ to writing *Qaṣīdas* like the professional masters of the art, as he says most scornfully :

شعری کہ در دل آرزوی گدید پرورد
بر معنیش بشاش و بر الفاظ او بری

[As for the couplet, which nourishes in the heart a desire for begging,

Please urinate on its meaning and stool on its words.]

but, in view of the splendid potentialities⁴ of *Qaṣīdas*, in being the most impressive vehicle for expressing strong emotions and sublime thoughts, Bedil could not neglect it altogether. Sincerity was the primary feeling of Bedil. He says, while expressing his attitude towards *Qaṣīdas* :

مداح نظرتم نه ظہیرم نه انوری

[I praise Nature. I am neither *Zahīr* nor *Anwarī*.]

1. *Shibli, Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, V, pp. 18-20. pages 180-2 supra of this work.

2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 31.

3. Page 53 Supra.

4. *Shibli, Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, V, p. 19.

As such Bedil has praised, out of the fullness of his heart and without having any worldly end in view, only those persons whom he admired passionately. In doing so he wrote sometimes replicas¹ to the famous Qaṣīdas of the master-poets like Anwarī (d. 1189-91 A.D.), Khāqānī (d. 1185 A.D.), Zahir Fāryābī (d. 1201 A.D.) Amīr Khusrau of Dehlī (d. 1325 A.D.) and Muḥammad Jamālud Dīn 'Urfī (d. 1590-1 A.D.) and we see that, on account of spontaneity, loftiness, and vigour of both thought and expression, he has carved out a niche for himself among these great writers. His Qaṣāid may be small in number, but in quality they rank among the best specimens of the Art. This would become clear when we have studied his Qaṣāid one by one.

*The First Qaṣīda.*² The prototype of this Qaṣīda of Bedil is the famous Qaṣīda *Manlīquṭ Ṭūyūr* of Khāqānī—a replica³ to which had been written by Amīr Khusrau as well. Khāqānī wrote his Qaṣīda in praise of the holy Prophet. It has two parts (دو مطلع) and 67 couplets in all. In the first part there is a description of the Ka'ba, and in the second, the prologue (تشیب) consists of a dialogue between different birds, which praise their own beloveds until their caliph, the phoenix, arrives, and from there a transition (گزين) is made to eulogise the holy Prophet. Bedil, too, has two parts, but the number of his verses is 168, and, in spite of the length of his Qaṣīda, its flow and force continue unabated to the end. In the first part there is a brief description of a garden in the spring season, and in the second we see a maid of charming beauty having a walk through the garden. The description of her beauty is matchless, and elegant words and beautiful phrases have been used most powerfully. For example :

جلوه طرف عذار لعلہ چندین سحر حلقہ گیسوی تاز دام هزار آفتاب

[The splendour of her cheeks was like the light of many mornings, and

The curls of her proud hair were snares for a thousand suns.]

1. Vide the discussion that follows.

2. *Kullīyāt-e-Safdarī Qasāid*, pp. 21-24.

3. *Kullīyāt-e-Khāqānī* p. 78 ; Amīr Khusrau, *Nihāyatul Kamāl*, p. 48, Ṣalāḥūd Dīn, *Afkar-e-Shā'ir*, p. 39 ; The opening lines of Khāqānī, Amīr Khusrau, and Bedil respectively are :

۱ - زد نفس سر بمهر صبح ملع نقاب
۲ - صبح چو آفاق را چپہ نمود از نقاب
۳ - ذی کہ زیاد سحر طره شب خورد تاب

چاره' تحیر گداز غمزه قیامت طراز حسن ادا فتنه ساز طرز نگه شعله تاب

[Her splendour was marvellous, her coquetry was killing,

Her manners were bewitching, and the manner of her glances in flames.]

When the lovely maid wanted to leave the garden :

سبزه بیائیش فتاد کل بگرفتش رکاب

[Verdure fell on her feet and roses held her stirrups.]

At this stage the nightingale arrived and began to say how painful it was that the life of the flower was so short :

کی که بسالی نزد خیمه بیاب وجود باز بدشت عدم از چه نباید شتاب

[The rose did not pitch its tent in the garden of existence for a year,

Why then does it quickly rush back to the wilderness of non-existence ?]

The nightingale continued her sad tale for some time and asked, when death was so common, how one could be happy in life. The wise maid first told the profound universal truth :

آنچه ندارد دوام نیست بغیر از تلف آنچه نه بندد ثبات نیست بجز انقلاب

[Nothing but destruction is eternal, and

Nothing but change is constant.]

and then added that the safest way in the circumstances was to keep in view always the charming beauty of the holy Prophet. From this place the Qasida, as such, begins and the poet's feelings begin to mount. In the heat of emotion and at the height of inspiration, the hemistiches are automatically divided into halves, sometimes rhyming mutually and sometimes without rhyme :

در هرس خدمتش نازش پست و بلند خاک زنتاع جبین چرخ زوض رقاب

ابر زهر قطره اش بسمل بوس قدم مهر زهر ذره اش کشته طوف رکاب

[High and low alike feel proud of a desire to serve him,

The dust by its table-cloth of forehead, and the sky by the laying down of its neck.

The cloud is eager to kiss his footprints with every one of its drops, and

The sun has an earnest desire to go round his stirrups with every one of his atoms.]

In this state of emotion the poet coins excellent titles for the holy Prophet :

خسرو وحدت کلاه شاه قدم بازگاه بدن تنزه ضیاء صدر تقدس جناب

[The king having Unity as his crown, and the monarch having Eternity as his court, and

The full moon having transcendence as his lustre, and the exalted and holy sovereign.]

While expressing his inability to praise the Prophet in a befitting manner, he uses a nice original simile :

یا نبی الا بطحی من که و مدحت کجا رشته نه بندد بچرخ ساز طنین ذباب

[O my dear the Meccan Prophet ! who am I to praise thee ?
The buzzing of a fly has no relation with the heaven.]

It is a very eloquent Qaṣīda. Its diction shows Bedil's perfect mastery over language. Everything has been described very impressively. The metaphors and similes are fresh and appropriate, new and powerful phrases have been coined quite spontaneously, and novel conceits and the figure poetical aetiology develop quite naturally. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, an Afghān writer, declares that this Qaṣīda is, in every respect, superior to its prototype by Khāqānī.

*The Second Qaṣīda.*² It is an imitation of 'Urfī's³ Qaṣīda and has been written in praise of the holy Prophet. From the very beginning a passionate address has been made to him without observing the usual formality of having a prologue. The word کج is repeated as a refrain after the rhyming letters, and hence the whole imagery has been limited to the narrow confines of a garden. In spite of this, in the 75 couplets of the Qaṣīda, its force nowhere diminishes. On the other hand, with every new verse its vigour increases and an addition is made to the colourfulness of the Qaṣīda. The following couplet, expressing the poet's love for the holy Prophet, is remarkable :

یاد وصلش نور جان چون رونق آینه آب
داغ عشقش زیب دل چون زینت دستار گل

[The memory of union with him is the light of life, as the splendour of the mirror is its lustre

The brand of his love decorates the heart as the flower is an ornament for the turban.]

*The Third Qaṣīda.*⁴ Here Bedil has replied⁵ to Zabīr Fāryābī who praised Malik Nuṣratud Dīn⁶ in a Qaṣīda congratulating him on

1. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Aḥkār-e-Ṣhāfir*, p. 38.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī Qaṣīd*, p. 24-5.

3. 'Urfī, *Diwān*, pp 80-83. 'Urfī wrote his Qaṣīda in praise of Emperor Akbar. His first verse being :

نو بهار آمد که افشاند بچمن یار گل چون وصال یار ریزد هر خس و هر خار گل

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī Qaṣīd*, pp. 25-29.

5. *Qaṣīd-e-Zabīr Fāryābī*, p. 17. The opening verse of Zabīr is :

سپیده دم چو زند آبر خیمه در گزار گل از سراپه خلوت رود تحفیه یار

'Urfī too has a Qaṣīda, having this rhyme and metre, in praise of Hazrat 'Alī. In his Qaṣīda 'Urfī has sworn beautifully showing his love for Hazrat 'Alī, but it appears Bedil had not 'Urfī in view while writing his Qaṣīda. For 'Urfī's Qaṣīda see : 'Urfī, *Qaṣīd*, 15-24.

6. Atābek Nuṣratud Dīn Abū Bakr of Āzarbā-e-Jān. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 416.

ascending the throne of his uncle Qizil Arslān. The Qasīda of the renowned panegyric writer is very famous, and Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted¹ the following verse from it in his *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam* :

چمن هنوز لب از شیر ابر ناشسته چو شاهدان خط سبزش دمیده گرد عذار

[The garden had not yet washed the milk of clouds from its lips, but

Like the fair ones, its downs grew round its cheeks.]

The Qasīda of Zahir has one مطلع only, but that of Bedil has سه مطلع (three parts), and has 288 couplets of exquisite literary value. Zahir is known² for his original conceits, elegant and impressive combinations of words, and subtle and charming similes. In these pages, Bedil too has been praised again and again for these peculiarities, and, when we know that, in this replica to Zahir Fāryābī, Bedil has eulogised the holy Prophet of Islam, whom he loved more than anything else in the world, we can easily imagine with what warmth of feeling and with what force of diction he would have composed the Qasīda. I quote only the following verses and leave the judgment with my readers :

بغیر درس تو علم جهانیان باطل
بغیر حکم تو اعمال انس و جان بیکار
تو هر طرف که هدایت کنی همان قبله
بسوی هر چه اشارت کنی همان دیدار
عطا همان که پسندد توجه کرم
خطا همان که تواش زد کنی زهی مختار
اگر ببرد و نصاری خدا پرستانند
بدایع کفر اشیرند چون توی بزار
سری که گرم هوای تو نیست شمع صفت
ز شعله رگ گردن بسوزدش دستار

[Without your teachings the knowledge of the inhabitants of the world is null and void.

Without your command the doings of Man and the Genii are useless.

Whichever way you direct thither is the Qibla, and

To whatever thing you point that is the vision.

Whatever your kind attention likes is a gift, and

Whatever you disapprove is the sin—yours being the authority.

Although the Jews and Christians worship God,

But since you are disgusted, the brand of infidelity is their fate.

1. Shibli, *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, V, p. 5.

2. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The head which is not warmed by the feeling of love for you
like the candle,
By the flame of the jugular vein, will have its turban con-
sumed.]

*The Fourth Qaṣīda*¹. It is an original Qaṣīda in praise of Abū-
Ḥasan Asadullāhul Qhālib 'Alī Ibn-e-Abī Tālib—the illustrious son-
in-law of the holy Prophet. The prologue consists of a statement of
the wickedness of the heaven, wherein the crescent has been likened
to the claws of a wolf. Bedil says that only that person who takes
refuge with the revered 'Alī is safe from the viles of the sky. Having
made transition to eulogy in this way, the poet praises 'Alī very force-
fully for his strength, bravery, love of justice, magnanimity, sincerity,
vast and deep learning, and his knowledge of the Occult. The poet's
fidelity to the holy personage can be gathered from this verse :

نمرها شد چون نفس در یاد او پر می زنم سالها بگذشت نبضم در خیالش می طبد
[It is ages since like breath I have been flapping my wings in
his memory, and
For many years my pulse has been beating with passion of
devotion over thoughts of him.]

*The Fifth Qaṣīda*². This Qaṣīda has a very difficult rhyme and is
a replica³ to a Qaṣīda by 'Urfī. Both the Qaṣīdas have two parts
but, while 'Urfī's has only 74 verses, Bedil's has got 178. Both the
poets have mentioned heavenly bodies in their Qaṣīdas, but Bedil's
Qaṣīda is decidedly more forceful. Bedil in his Qaṣīda has sung
praises of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī.

*The Sixth Qaṣīda*⁴. This Qaṣīda is a replica to the famous
*Shīnīyya*⁵ of Khāqānī, replicas⁶ to which had already been written
by Amīr Khusrau, Jāmī, 'Urfī and others. The Qaṣīda of Khāqānī
has one *Maṭla'* and 78 verses, while that of Bedil has 'Sih *Maṭla'*,
(three parts) and 149 verses. The *Shīnīyya* Qaṣīdas of Khāqānī

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Qaṣīd*, pp. 29-30.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

3. 'Urfī, *Qaṣīd*, pp. 51-55. The opening verses of 'Urfī and Bedil respec-
tively are :

۱ - چهره پرداز جهان رخت کشد چون بچمل
شب شود نیمرخ و روز شود مستقبل
۲ - معزل الحوت هما متناسب نصب حمل
یافت طبع سبکی را بسمنار ببدل

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, Qaṣīd*, pp. 32-4

5. *Shīnīyya* is a poem which rhymes in *ghā*.

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, I, p. 2 ; 'Urfī, *Diwān* 61 ; Amīr Khusrau, *Diwān*, Panjab
University Library Miss. No. 2037, f. 18a ; Ṣalāhūd Dīn, *Aṣḥār-e-Ṣhā'ir*, p. 37
Wahid Mirzai Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau, p. 161.

Amīr Khusrau, and Jāmī are didactic in nature, but that of Bedil is in praise of Hazrat 'Alī. Khāqānī, in his Qasida, had made references to numerous doctrines of various sciences, and Bedil too has made allusions to many topics of History, different verses of the holy Qur'ān and the Sayings of the holy Prophet, and to diverse problems of mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy. In point of expression also Bedil's Qasida is not inferior in any respect. It seems, however, to gain in elegance. For example these verses of praise :

ترحم آفرین ذاتش شفاعت پرور اخلاقش
کرم تصویر الطافش نجات ایجاد احسانش

[His nature is compassionate, his disposition is intercessory,
His favours are munificent, and his benevolence ensures
salvation.]

حیا منسوب آدایش وفا پیمان انسایش
بهشت اطوار اصحابش جحیم آثار اعدایش

[His manner springs from modesty, his lineage is known
for good faith,
His companions have amiable manners, and his enemies are
repulsive as hell.]

*The Seventh Qasida.*² *Sawād-e-A'zam*, the title of the Qasida, which occurs at its end, is a chronogram, and yields the date 1082 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.). It means Bedil was only twenty eight years old when he wrote this Qasida. Its prototype is the famous Qasida, *Daryā-e-Abrar*, of Amīr Khusrau. Bedil was not the first poet to use it as model,³ but before him Jāmī (d. 898/1492) and Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawāī (d. 906/1501) also had used it as a pattern while writing their Qasidas *Lujjātul Asrār* and *Bahrul Afkār* respectively. All the Qasidas are didactic and Bedil also was true to the tradition. Amīr Khusrau, in every one of the verses of his *Daryā-e-Abrār*, had made an assertion⁴ in the first hemistich, which was aptly illustrated in the second. Now this figure, i.e. aptness of illustration,

1. Shibli Nu'māni, *Shī'ru'l 'Ajam*, V, p. 7.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī*, Qasaid, pp. 34-6.

3. Amīr Khusrau, *Divān*, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 2037, f. 36a; Alī Shīr Nawāī, *Majalisun Nafais*, p. 358; Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau*, 161, *foot note* No. 2. The opening lines of Amīr Khusrau, Jāmī, 'Alī Shīr Nawāī, and Bedil are, respectively :

۱- کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش درد سراسر است
۲- کنگر ایوان شه کز کاخ کیوان برتر است
۳- آتشی نعلی که تاج خسروان را زیور است
۴- در هریم خاک مارا موی پیری رهبر است

4. Shibli, *Shī'ru'l 'Ajam*, II, p. 133.

had been popularised,¹ during the times of Bedil, by Kalic (d. 1061/1951) and Šāib (d. 1080/1669), and Bedil too had developed a great affinity² for it. In these circumstances it was but natural for Bedil to compete with Amīr Khusrau, where some other illustrious masters of the Art had also tried their luck. The Qaṣīda of Bedil has 158 verses in three parts (سه مطلع), and he has also displayed his mastery in the use of the figure "aptness of illustration." The following verses are cited as example:

سعی عاشق را بجهد مردم دنیا مسنج
وجد طفلان دیگر است ورقص بسمل دیگر است

[Don't weigh the endeavour of a lover with the struggle of a worldly person.

The mock-dance of the children is different from the ecstatic swings of the lovers.]

بر دل آزاد از عزات مبنده افسردگی
هر کجا آب روان یخ بست سنگ مرمر است

[The freedom-loving heart should not be made to congeal by seclusion.

Wherever the running water changes into ice, it becomes marble.]

دل چو روشن گشت بجاه و شوکتی درکار نیست
بهر تسخیر جهان خورشید تنها لشکر است

[When the heart has been illumined, pomp and glory are needless.

For conquering the world, the Sun alone is an Army.]

Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted³ the following verse of Amīr Khusrau, from his *Daryā-e-Abrār*, as the best specimen of his Art:

مرد پنهان در گلیمی پادشاه عالم است تیغ خفته در نیاسی پاسبان کشور است

[The hero hiding in the blanket is the ruler of the world, just as.

The sword asleep in a scabbard is the guardian of the realm. When it is compared with the last verse of Bedil, quoted here by me, it loses much of its significance. It was because of this success in writing the Qaṣīda that Bedil said to himself:

ترجمان اسرار بی چونیست ورنه نزد عقل
نکته بردازی زطبع این قدر کی باور است

[Interpreter are the secrets of the Absolute, otherwise as far as reason goes,

Production of so many conceits by your mind is incredible.]

1. Shibli *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, III, pp. 165, 179.

2. Pages 47-9 *supra*.

3. Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, V, 25,

*The Eighth Qasida.*¹ This Qasida has 54 couplets in all and its theme is "Love and its supreme value in life." It is a reply to a panegyric by Anwarī.² After a digression to didactic topics it reverts to its main theme towards the end. There is nothing new in the whole of the Qasida except for the similes and metaphors with which the poet illustrates his propositions. For example he speaks about humility — a time-worn topic but made attractive owing to the brilliant simile :

چون به نو هر که آئین تواضع برد پیش
طلعت خود را چراغ هفت کشور یافته

[Like the new moon, one, who acts upon the principle of humility.

Will find his countenance illuminating the seven realms.]

But there is one verse which reveals the working of Bedil's mind. When he has said that ability is not attained easily, he remarks that, for a proper recognition of one's merits, the pomp and grandeur of Ibn-e-Sinaa, who was attached in his life to different kings as a minister, is required :

لاف دانش جز به معنی جاه نتوان پیش برد
بوعلی هم شهرت علم از کبر و فر یافته

[One cannot boast of learning unless his efforts seat him in a place of dignity.

Bū 'Alī was also known widely for his learning on account of his elevated rank.]

*The Ninth Qasida.*³ The whole philosophy of Bedil revolves round his deep-rooted faith about the dignity of Man. His Metaphysics, we have seen,⁴ have added unexampled weight to this faith, and whenever, therefore, he speaks about Man he waxes eloquent. This original⁵ Qasida, of 95 couplets, has been dedicated by Bedil to his most favourite theme, i.e. Man, and its very opening verse declares with what force he is going to address :

ای شمع بزم قدس ندانم چه مظهری کز و هم گد روشن و گهی مکردی

[O the candle of the banquet of sanctity ! I don't know what you do.

By your phantasy, you are at times bright and then gloomy.]

The metre and rhyme of the Qasaid are very much suited for such a

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, Qasāid, p. 36-7.

2. *Diwān-e-Anwarī*, 365. Anwarī's Qasida begins with the following line :

ای نهال مکرمت از عدل تو بر یافته

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, Qasāid, pp. 37-8.

4. Page 247 *supra*.

5. Anwarī too has four verses having this metre and rhyme. See *Diwān-e-Anwarī*, p. 749.

forceful address, and it is due to this that here we come across some of the most emphatic utterances of Bedil. He tells Man :

در ملک بی تعینی افزون تری ز چرخ اما بهالم هوس از ذره کمتری
[In the realm of Pure Being, you are superior to the Heavens;
But in the land of greed you are inferior even to a particle of
dust.]

در لفظ تست معنی کونین مندرج بهرچه بر حقیقت خود پی نمی بری
[In your word the meaning of both the worlds has been
compressed.

Why don't you try to understand your reality ?]

شائل زخودمباش که چون شمع آفتاب اقبال هفت محفل و نه قصر خضری
[Don't be forgetful of yourself, because like the Sun
You are the glory of the seven assemblies, and the nine
blue palaces.]

از هر شئی که عقل تو فهمد اضلی و ز هر مکان که فهم تو پی برد برتری
[You are better than all those things which your intellect
can realise,

And you are loftier than all those places where your understanding can reach.]

هر سو نگاه سی رود آنجا تو رفته ای هر جا خیال می برد آنجا تو می بری
[In whatever direction the sight goes, you have reached
there, and

Wherever the wings of imagination fly, you fly there.]

These verses speak for themselves. Freshness of metaphors may, however, be enjoyed in the following verse :

بر نقش دل میند که طاؤس جنتی از لای سر بر آر که ماهی کوثری
[Do not have a fancy for the image as you are the peacock
of the garden of Eden,

Take your head out of the dregs, as you are the fish of the
river Kauşar of Paradise.]

It is in this *Qasida* that Bedil says he would not offer his talents for sale in the market, where every Tom, Dick, and Harry is the customer, but he would only pour out his heart at his sweet will.

*The Tenth Qasida.*¹ It is again a replica² to Anwarī. It has a most difficult rhyme, and success in this *Qasida* shows Bedil's mastery

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī Qasaid* pp. 37-8.

2. *Diwan-e-Anwarī*, p. 242. The first verse of Anwarī goes :

ای سپاهت را ظفر لشکر کش و دولت ینرک
نه یقیں بر طول و عرض لشکرت واقف نه شک

And the opening verse of Bedil is :

وقت آنست که از گردش گردون فلک
نقش مهر از ورق روی زمین گردد حک

Only rhyme is similar here.

over language. Anwarī's Qasida has only 23 couplets while Bedil's has 61. Bedil's theme is the criticism of the ways of the people.

*The Eleventh Qasida.*¹ This Qasida has been named *Muḥīṭ-e-Bikarān* and is rich in conceits and visual imagery. It deals only with didactic subjects. It has been written as a replica² to a Qasida by Khāqānī, in which the great master speaks about personal matters. The opening verse of Khāqānī is very brilliant, but in other respects both the Qasidas are very meritorious. Both the poets employ the figure "aptness of illustration," though Bedil uses it more often. Moreover, in both the Qasidas there are conceits, Bedil albeit grows more fanciful. The following verse of the master poets may be compared :

Khāqānī :

دل مند بر عشوه هائی آسمان زیرا که هست
بی سرو و بی کار هائی آسمان چون آسمان

[Don't be fond of the amorous playfulness of the sky, because
The ways of the sky are groundless like itself.]

Bedil :

خفیف رنگی هست وضع طالع طبع بلند
نیست غیر از کهکشان نقش جبین آسمان

[A paleness of colour is natural to the fortune of a high-minded person, as

The painting on the forehead of the sky is nothing but the milky-way.]

In the following verse Bedil speaks about betel-leaf—a thing connected exclusively with India—and this local colouring lends originality to his Qasida :

برگ عیش سینه چاکل بی تلاش آماده است
زخمها از خون خود دارند بوی لب رنگ بان

[For us, who have a torn breast, the leaf of enjoyment is available without any effort, just as

The wounds have the dye of the betel-leaf on their lips out of their own blood.]

*The Twelfth and the Thirteenth Qasidas.*² Both the Qasidas, having in all 68 verses, are in praise of Prince Muḥammad A'zam in whose service³ Bedil remained for some time. Although the Qasidas have a different rhyme, they are in the same metre, and the second Qasida, therefore, appears to be a continuation of the first. From the second it

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, p. 473. The opening lines of Khāqānī and Bedil are respectively :

۱- آلمان ای دل که وحشت زحمت آرد آلمان

۲- جز تهی دستی ندارد بی سرو برگ فغان

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qasāid*, pp. 40-1.

3. Page 68 *supra*.

appears that Bedil expected that the Prince should patronise him. The following verses in the *Qaṣīda* show that the Prince had promised the poet an award of a title but he said he was already the *Khān-e-Khānān* (خان خانان) of the domain of literature :

بی تکلف خان خانان جهان معنیم
تا به تشریف خطایم کرده اند امیدوار
محو بودم کز چه خدمت قابل این منصب
شد یکنیم کاینقدرها بدلی کردست کار

[To speak unceremoniously, I am the *Khān-e-Khānān* of the world of conceits,

As they had made me a candidate for the title.

I was thinking deeply : as a reward for what service I deserve this *Manṣab* ?

I was sure that my heartlessness had wrought this miracle.]

But it appears that, as the poet resigned service dramatically,¹ he was not awarded the title.

The *Fourteenth Qaṣīda*² is about a worn-out tent in which Bedil had to live at one time. The *Fifteenth*³ was perhaps written when Nāwāb *Khukrullāh Khān* arrived in Dehli. In the *Sixteenth*⁴ the poet congratulates the Prince on the birth of a son in 1107⁵ A.H. (1695-6 A.D.). The *Seventeenth Qaṣīda*⁶ expresses Bedil's joy on the arrival of Nāwāb *Shukrullāh Khān*, and is a model of sincerity. The *Eighteenth Qaṣīda*⁷ is very forceful and is the second replica to the *Shīniyya* of *Khāqānī*. It is in praise of Nizām-ul Mulk and was written after he had been made *Khān Daurān* by the Emperor *Shāh 'Ālam*. The chronogram⁸ for the date of the award of the title is : خان دوران بهادر, which comes to 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). The *Nineteenth*⁹ and the last *Qaṣīda* shows utmost joy of Bedil which he felt on learning the news of the arrival of *Shākir Khān* son of Nāwāb *Shukrullāh Khān*.

QUATRAINS

Ṣalāḥud Dīn, in his *Afkār-e-Shā'ir* gives fourth¹⁰ place, in point of merit, to the *Quatrains* of Bedil, and places his *Ghazals*, *Maṣnavīs*, and *Qaṣā'id*, respectively, before them. Bedil's contemporary and

1. Page 68 supra.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qaṣā'id* p. 41.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 42.

5. Bedil gives the following chronogram :

صبح مراد ملت و دین قبله مراد

6. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qaṣā'id*, p. 42.

7. Ibid., p. 42.

8. *Āzād Bilgrāmī*, *Saru-e-Āzād*, p. 174.

9. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qaṣā'id*, p. 43.

10. Ṣalāḥud Dīn, *Afkār-e-Shā'ir*, p. 60.

friend, Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshan, once said¹ that it was Bedil's privilege alone to write Quatrains. It means Bedil's Quatrains may not rank high, as compared with the other three classes of his verse mentioned above, but in themselves their artistic value cannot be underrated. Apart from their quality their number also is considerable. Ivanow talks² of a huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, but does not give their number. Dr. Etche, however, says³ that the manuscript of Bedil's quatrains, transcribed seven years before the poet's death and existing in the India Office Library has 3,500 epigrams in strictly alphabetical order. The learned author believes that it is the most complete collection extant. In *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, however, the number of quatrains, according to my counting, is 3619.* This shows that, like Farīdud Dīn 'Attār who wrote plenty⁴ of Quatrains, Bedil too left a large number of them. In view of the number and high literary value of Bedil's quatrains, a volume is required to do anything like justice to them, still a few observations are made here.

We know Bedil's first attempt⁵ at versification appeared spontaneously in the form of a Rubā'ī, in which he spoke in his childhood about the sweet odour breathed by a schoolmate. This shows Bedil's inherent aptitude for this class of verse. This aptitude was further strengthened by his association, from a very early age, with mystics who traditionally cherished Rubā'īs. Prominent mystics like⁷ Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqānī (d. 425/1034-5), Shaikh Abū Sa'id Abul Khair (d. 440/1049), 'Abdullah Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9) and Farīdud Dīn 'Attār (d. 657/1268-9), had distinguished themselves by writing Rubā'īs about their experiences and other problems of mysticism. The Rubā'ī has an inherent capacity for expressing a vast idea in the fewest possible words. It was, therefore, particularly⁸ liked by the mystics, who, being preoccupied with their code of self-mortification, meditation, and recollection, could find very little time to express themselves in other forms of verse. A lofty and great idea they could easily express in a Rubā'ī, in a few minutes, and then could

1. Khushgū in *Ma'arif* May 1942, p. 376 He says :

بقول شاه گلشن رباعی کوئی حق اوست

2. Ivanow, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under No. 843.

3. Etche, *India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.* Under No. 1681.

4. 122 towards the end of the *Qit'at*, and 3497, in the separate collection of *Rubā'iyāt* in the *Kulliyāt*.

5. Sulaimān Nadvi, *Khayyām*, p. 248.

6. Page 14 supra

7. Sulaimān Nadvi, *Khayyām*, pp. 231-46.

8. *Ibid.*, 220 248-56.



betake themselves to their exercises of ascetic and ethical discipline. Also the soft and delicate metre of the Rubā'ī was suited to their calm and serene temperament. In addition to the mystics, Philosophers¹ like Ibn Sina (d. 428/1036-7) and 'Omar Khayyām (d. 515-30/1121-36), too, wrote Rubā'īs for stating their deeper thoughts. It was, therefore, but natural that Bedil, as a philosopher-mystic, should pay greater attention to Rubā'ī-writing. Consequently we find Bedil's views about Divinity, Creation, Man and other allied topics fully expressed in his Rubā'īs, and had I not earlier stated his views about these subjects, while discussing his Ghazals and Maṣnavīs, I would have undertaken a detailed discussion of them at this place. I shall, however, make brief references in support of the assertions made here.

We are acquainted² with Bedil's views about the descent of the Absolute, but nowhere has he expressed himself more tersely than in this³ Rubā'ī:

بیدل از بسکه جلوه مشتاق شدم
بی برده ز آئینه⁴ اطلاق شدم
پوشیدن خویشم این زمان ممکن نیست
عریان شدم آنقدر که آفاق شدم

[Inasmuch as, O Bedil, I wanted to display myself,
I cast off the veil from the mirror of the Absolute.
It is not possible to cover myself again,
I have become so naked that I am the Universe.]

It was a mighty thought but Bedil has succeeded in expressing it in the four short lines of the Rubā'ī. The conception of the Pure Being, the desire of the Absolute Beauty to express Itself, the consequential appearance of the Universe, and the predominant position of Man in the Cosmos, all the great ideas have been expressed here with a strong note of pantheism. Again, Bedil says that God is the Real Being, and that plurality only shows Unity. This idea has been stated, in the following⁴ Rubā'ī, very brilliantly using charming imagery:

آن ذات مخفی که نیست غیرش مشهود
در هر جزوی برنگ گلی جلوه نمود
زان گونه که صد میوه دهد یک دانه
و آن دانه بهتر میوه به بینی موجود

1. Weir, T.W., *Omar Khayyām the Poet*, pp. 21-31, 77-80; Sulaimān Nadvī, *Khayyām*, p. 238.

2. Page 247 supra.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, Rubā'iyāt, p. 78.

4. Ibid., p. 78.

[That hidden Essence, except whom none is manifest,
Displayed Itself in every part like the colour in the rose,
Just as one seed gives a hundred fruit,
And in every fruit that seed is present.]

This thought has been continued in the following¹ Rubā'ī with the qualification that not-Being only goes to establish the Real Being :

از نفسی خود اثبات تو خرمن کردیم در رنگ شکسته سیر گلشن کردیم
خاکستر ما چو صبح اگر رفت بباد آئینه آفتاب روشن کردیم

[By negating ourselves, we garnered your confirmation.
We had a walk through the garden by losing our colour.
If our ashes, like the morning, were cast to the winds,
We only made mirror of the Sun brighter.]

But the transcendence of God also is a favourite subject of Bedil. In the following Rubā'ī² the poet says that it is impossible to praise God :

خلق و حمد خدا محال است اینجا
دعوی بگذار انفعال است اینجا
هر گز به لب زره نه گنجد خورشید
پیدل تو کجائی چه خیال است اینجا

[It is impossible for the created beings to praise God,
Give up all pretensions. Here only shame is in store.
The Sun cannot be accommodated within the lips of an
atom.

Bedil, thou art nought. What art thou about ?]

After Monism Bedil's next preoccupation is Man. We have seen how enthusiastic³ he grows and how exalted he feels when he begins to talk about Man. In his Rubā'īs too this predilection continues. But an original thinker as Bedil is, everytime there is some development of the idea. In a quatrain⁴ Bedil tells how after incessant and miraculous efforts, on the part of Nature, Man appears in the world :

صد قطره و برج موج طوفان گردد کز دریا گوهری نمایان گردد
فطرت عمری کند تگ و تاز هوس تا نقش ادب بندد و انسان گردد

[Numberless drops and waves create a storm,
So that a gem may be produced from the Ocean.
Nature ceaselessly makes frantic efforts for ages, and
Then a miracle takes place and Man is the result.]

Not only the entire Universe is busy in producing Man, but God Himself is in search of him :

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rubā'iyāt*, p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Pages 233, 256 *supra*.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rubā'iyāt*, p. 34.

اسرار قدم رفت در صید فاش و نهان تا یافت بحیب آدم از خویش نشان
عارف کاینجا نقاب تحقیق کشود طالب الله دید و مطلوب انسان
[The eternal secrets passed through a hundred manifest and
hidden things, and

Then found their vestige in Man's pocket.

The Gnostic, who opened here the veil of Truth,

Saw God as lover and Man as beloved.]¹

God's desire to see Himself is fulfilled in Man and thus His search for him. When a perfect man enjoys this enviable privilege, Bedil expostulates that our respect even for his tomb should be profound :

هر سایه خاری که درین هامون بود
لیلای کده تصور مجنون بود
تعظیم مزار اهل دل سهل مگرد
این خاک دو روز پیش ازین گردون بود

[Every shadow of a thorn in this wilderness,

Was a lovely corner for the thought of the beloved.

It is not easy to respect properly the tombs of the lovers.

This dust a couple of days before was (elevated like) sky.]²

But our knowledge of these mystical and metaphysical doctrines would be incomplete if Bedil the realist also does not express himself. In the following³ quatrain he teaches us the doctrine of the survival of the fittest :

بیدل بر خلق کسر شان نه نمائی تا تیر تران شدن کمان نه نمائی
خاصیت این معرکه عاجز کشی است اینجا زنهار ناتوان نه نما

[Bedil, no detraction of your dignity before the people.

So long as you can be an arrow, don't be a bow.

It is in the essential nature of this struggle to kill the humble.

Beware, lest here you look weak.]

The Rubā'i reminds us of the following impressive verse of Bedil occurring in his Ghazals :

دربین ره شود پائمال حوادث چون نقش قدم هر که خوابیده باشد

[On this road would be trodden down by calamities

The person who is asleep like the footprints.]

In these verses the poet maintains that we should be on the guard lest we should be wiped off the surface of the earth due to complacency, or, due to degeneration into servility and subservience, on account of the absence of assertion and the will to march forward.

A large number of quatrains, bearing on these subjects, can be given, but, I think, enough has been said to show that Bedil, in his

1. *Kulliyat-e-Safdari, Ruba'iyat*, p. 86.

2. *Ibid.* p. 44

3. *Ibid.* p. 99.

quatrains, stands very high as a thinker and a poet. Among the great quatrain writers, such as Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair and 'Omar Khayyām, he would occupy a respectable place because of his elegant expression, high ideals, and comprehensive philosophy. Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair makes a saint of a Man—indeed a laudable achievement in itself—but he does not go beyond that. It was left for Bedil to enable the saints, by his life-giving philosophy, to be a vital force in the world. 'Omar Khayyām, on the other hand, is a pessimist². He leaves the riddle of the universe unsolved and finds an escape in wine. The sharp intellect of Bedil, however, pierces the hearts of the atoms and soars to the heavens. He has a complete view of the Reality and offers a most positive philosophy to man for the realisation of his self, and thus equips him to play a most constructive role in life. If, therefore, out of the huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, a fair selection is made, with a proportionate regard for the different topics dealt with by him, and an elegant volume is brought out, the world would indeed be richer in literature of everlasting value.

Besides expressing these deeper thoughts, Rubā'īs have been employed in connection with every other³ topic which concerns man. Chronograms on births, deaths, and other occasions; joy or sorrow felt on the arrivals and departures of near and dear ones; congratulation; complaints; bacchanalian topics; statements regarding one's faith, facetiae, etc., etc., all are themes for the Rubā'ī. When we go through the *Rubā'iyyāt of Bedil* we come across all these topics, and thus a flood of light is thrown on the private life of the poet. The constant demands, made by his friends, acquaintances, and other people, for chronograms pestered him very much, and he complains:⁴

بیدل افہام تا کجا کاستہ است کابین عرصہ بساط حق آراستہ است
عربست گرہ آشنا و بیگانہ زمن غیر از تاریخ و مجمع کم خواستہ است

[Bedil how far has understanding diminished,

The times have arrayed a party of fools.

For long all those, who know or do not know me,

Have not asked me except for chronograms.]

Bedil's relations⁵ with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his family are well known. There are Rubā'īs which express Bedil's love for and gratefulness to this family. Moreover, there are many Rubā'īs which give

1. In this connection read the masterly account of Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair, given by R.A. Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

2. Weil, T.H., 'Omar Khayyām—the Poet, pp. 23, 24.

3. Sulaimān Nadvī, *Khayyām*, 257.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Rubā'iyyāt*, p. 17.

5. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Rubā'iyyāt*, p. 88.

information about the poet's faith. From some quarter he got a few relics of the Holy Prophet, and he said joyfully :

بیدل نازد جهان ایجاد بمن زان دولت عظمی که نبی داد بمن
یعنی چون دیدم دورم از طواف درش آثار مبارکش فرستاد بمن

[Bedil, the world is proud of me,

On account of the rich treasure which the Prophet has granted to me.

When he saw I was away and could not go round his doctrine.

He sent his blessed relics to me.]

The following two quatrains also may be studied in the connection :

بیدل رقم خفی جلی می خواهی اسرار نبی و رمز ولی می خواهی
خلق آئینه است نور احمد دریا ب حق فهم اگر نهیم علی می خواهی

[Bedil, you want the hidden and manifest secrets.

You like to know the secret of the Prophet and the mystery of the Friend.

The Creation is the mirror. See there the light of Ahmad.

Comprehend the Real Being if you like to know 'Alī.]

آن تخم حقیقت که نبوت شجر است پیش جمعی که دین شان معتبر است
بویکوش ریشه شاخ و برگ است عمر عثمان شکوفه برتضائش ثمر است

[The seed of Reality whose tree is the Prophet,

(According to the people whose faith is creditable)

Has Abū Bakr as roots, 'Umar as leaves and branches,

'Uṣmān as buds, and Murtazā the fruit.]

Bedil makes references about his versification also. He complains that people do not realise² his worth. He states that he does not eulogise anybody, but writes verses for their own sake—for the pleasure³ of making them ; and if at all in his poems he has praised⁴ some persons, it is only on account of his love for them. There is also a quatrain,⁵ in the collection, which ought to have silenced his critics :

بیدل سودای اجتهادم شان نیست شوقم طرف کمال یا نقصان نیست
برپست و بلند شعرم ایراد مگیر آخر سخن شافعی و نعمان نیست

[Bedil, It does not behave me to practise religious jurisprudence

My interest is not concerned with perfection or its reverse.

Do not object to the defects in my verses,

After all these are not the sayings of Shāfi'ī⁶ or Nu'man.]

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Rubā'iyāt*, pp. 99, 17.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Rubā'iyāt*, p. 50.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

6. These are the two celebrated Muslim jurists who died respectively in 827 and 767 A.D.

Finally, it is regrettable that a poet of Bedil's standing should stoop down to the position of facetiae-writers. There are nineteen¹ Rubā'is of this nature given at the end of the *Qit'āt* in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*. The language of these Rubā'is is very filthy and the subject-matter is awfully obscene. It appears that to guard his sublimest expressions against the evil eye, Bedil indulged now and then in such like offensive sayings. I too quote only one Rubā'ī² of this nature with the same object:

آن مفسده غره تب و تاب منی کز اهل تکبر است و اصحاب منی
یا رب بنباس پیریش رسواکن یعنی ریشش بشوی با آب منی

[That depraved, proud, and egotistical fellow
Who is one of the haughty and arrogant people.
May God disgrace him with his attire of old age;
That is wash his beard with semen.]

The Rubā'ī shows that Bedil was certainly angry with an old man wearing a long grey beard.

As regards the form of Bedil's Rubā'is, the first, second and the fourth lines of each Rubā'ī rhyme with each other, and the rhyme consists of a single letter, or a particular phrase or word repeated as refrain, after the proper rhyming consonant or vowel. There are also quatrains having dotless³ letters and all⁴ the letters having dots.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qit'āt*, pp. 58-62. The catalogue of the *Arabic Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur*, Vol. III, states under No. 381, that there are 3,000 verses of this kind. *Khushgū* too says that the number of such like verses is 3,000. Doctor Rieu says that in the British Museum there exists a manuscript which contains satires in Qasida form, and quotes the following verse with which those satirical fragments begin:

این درر دور حیز است وضع متیس که دارد
باد بروت مردی غیر از سرین که دارد

See *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May 1942, p. 375, Rieu; *Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in British Museum*, f. 212-a.

I saw three satirical fragments in the *Kulliyāt* copied by *Ghulām Hussain Kābuli* at page folio 1029-a. As regards the additional satirical Rubā'is, which have been mentioned later in the Bankipur catalogue under the above-mentioned manuscript, and whose first line is:

باران در زندگی زهرچیز رسا

I think, at least some of them are given in the collection of *Rubā'iyāt* in *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, because at its page 5 the foregoing line, with the complete Rubā'ī has been given. Similarly, the following satirical Rubā'ī has been given at p. 97 of the collection:

زاهد سخن از صدق و صفا می گوئی لیکن یکسر ره خطا می پوئی
ای مسخره آخر چه شعور است اینجا می کوزد کول و دست و رومی شوئی

Many more Rubā'is of this sort can be quoted from this collection.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qit'āt*, p. 61.

3. *Ibid. Rubā'iyāt*, p. 51.

4. *Ibid.* pp. 89, 96, 100.

MUKHAMMASĀT (Pentastiches).¹

It is strange that no Tazkirah-writer paid attention to the Pentastiches of Bedil. In all likelihood it was due to the fact that their object was simply to give short notices about the poet. In the *Bankipur Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, however, the Pentastiches of Bedil have been mentioned, but it has not been mentioned whether they exist in the Library or not. As it has already² been said, Bedil wrote a large number of poems of this kind, but I have been able to see only 33. Their large number shows that Bedil was very fond of writing Mukhammasāt, so much so that the touching elegy,³ he wrote on the death of his only son, is also a Mukhammas. The language of these poems is very simple and colloquial, and one feels at every step that the thought predominates the expression. In addition, therefore, to their simplicity, fluency, beauty of expression, and force of emotion, their deep thoughts also attract our attention. The poet himself is aware of these things and he says⁴ :

چه سحر مشربی اے بیدل از بدیع نگاری
قیامت انجمنی یا بہار فتنہ عجباری
ہزار رنگ درد پردہ تا کلی بدر آری
وساز نفل یک شیشہ دل کہ نداری
بطبع تست خروشی کہ کوهسار ندارد

[What magic is performed, Bedil, by your original verses.
A resurrection is the result or a spring exciting disturbance.
A thousand hues tear open the veil before you produce
a rose.

Through the tune of the bubbling noise of a cup-like heart,
which you do not have

There is an uproar in your mind which even the hills do not
have.]

In writing these poems Bedil does not seem to have followed any poet, but in one Mukhammas,⁶ he has inserted this hemistich⁷ of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi :

1. A Mukhammas or a pentastich is a poem of several "bands" each having five lines. The fifth line in every "band" sums up the idea.

2. *Bankipur Oriental Library Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Mss.*, under No. 381.

3. Page 170 supra.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 265, fs. 435b-437-a. This volume has Mukhammasāt between fs. 433-a and 464-a.

5. Ibid., f. 449-a.

6. Ibid., fs. 461-a to 452-b.

7. Ahmad Sirhindi, *Imām-e-Rabbāni, Maktūbāt*, p. 44.

باری بیهیج خاطر خود شاد می کنم

[In short I please myself with nothing.]

This line occurs in the thirty-second Maktūb (letter) of the divine.

Except for only three Makhammasāt, in all the rest Bedil discusses those topics with which we have become familiar in the course of this work. Freshness is introduced only by originality of expression, and from the literary point of view it is a great achievement. For example he speaks¹ about the Primal Being :

آفتابم تا قشها داشت بی ننگ زوال
سال و ماهم موج می زد بی غبار ماه و سال
نی زدوران زمانم باد تغیر خیال
نی زگردشهای چرخم انقلاب رنگ حال
مرکز پرکار خود بودم جهانی داشتم

[My Sun did shine without the fear of decline.

My years and months moved without the dust of months and years.

Neither on account of the cycle of time I knew the change of thoughts,

Nor because of the revolution of the sky my condition altered.

I was the centre of my compass and had a world for myself.]

Bedil wrote these verses while talking about the origin of Man. Similarly, he reminds Man of his superiority in the universe and urges him to realise his self. The attempt will result in a tedious repetition if quotations are made about all these and other familiar topics, still it may be seen how fresh the topic of the superiority of Man appears in these² lines :

گر صبح کشد بال زیاد مژه تست
و رشام دمد موئی زیاد مژه تست
هر سو فگنی چشم سواد مژه تست
رمز دو جهان بست و کشاد مژه تست
صحرا دمد از خانه چو دیوار نه ماند

[If the morning opens its wings, it is in memory of your eyelashes,

And if the evening develops hair, it is again in memory of your eyelashes.

Wherever you open your eyes there is the blackness of your eyelashes.

The secret of both the worlds is the shutting and opening of your eyelashes.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 265, f. 260-b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 450-b.

When there is no more a wall in the house a Sahara is the result.]

Besides this novelty and beauty of expression, these poems have, as already indicated, a remarkable force of emotion. In the following lines¹, we have been asked, in a most feeling manner, to make an earnest search for the Ultimate Reality which, the poet adds, is not far off:

ای هر زه دباغان سخن یاس مگوئید
کل مفت تماشاست به بیند و ببوئید
آن گوهر نایاب که سرگشته اوئید
از پیش نظر دور نرفته است بچوئید
آخر بخیال آنهمه ششدر نتوان شد

[O nonsensical people, don't talk in a mood of disappointment.

The Rose can be seen gratis. See and smell it.

That Rare Gem, for which you wander about,

Has not gone far from your sight, find it out.

After all you should not be so perplexed.]

In another Mukhammas Bedil has described the feelings which he experienced when he had the vision of the Ultimate Reality. He did not think that he would have the vision, and he was, therefore, very much surprised to see the unexpected thing take place :

هر چند که من طاقت دیدار ندارم
قانع بخیالی و تماشائی بهارم
افکند تحیر بقفای مشرہ کارم
کردی تو بان گلشن مقصود دو چارم
ای دیده هزار آئینه قربان نگاهت

[Although I do not possess the power to have the vision, and I am contented with the Thought, and with only a sight of the spring.

I was extremely wonderstuck to see

That you brought me face to face with the garden of my desires.

O my eyes, a thousand mirrors may be sacrificed for your single glance.]

In addition to the feelings of joy and wonder, our Gnostic experience on that occasion a feeling of elation also :

بیدل خبر از عشرت جاوید رساندی
جامی زدی و نشه جمشید رساندی
زیر و بهم اقبال به ناهید رساندی
ای ذره سرفراز بخورشید رساندی
ما این قدر آگه بنودیم ز جاهت

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 265, f. 450-1

2. *Ibid.*, fs. 4396-440-a,

[O Bedil, you have brought the news of eternal bliss.
 You drank a full cup and thus feel intoxicated like Jamshīd.
 The sound of the bass and treble of your fortune has reached
 the ears of the Venus,
 O atom, your proud head has touched the Sun.
 We did not have so much knowledge about your rank.]

These were examples of emotional felicity. The best example of the expression of the poet's emotional break-down is the pathetic and sad Mukhammas¹ he wrote on the death of his son. It has already been quoted in chapter² third and may be seen there.

When we have noted literary points of additional interest in the *Mukhammasāt*, we should review the speculative element in the poems, mainly to find out what fresh grounds have been covered. At several places, during their perusal, one feels that, to make his philosophy perfect and workable, Bedil is accumulating the necessary details and making the much-needed qualifications. I would be content with only one example. We know, in describing his mystical philosophy, Bedil has urged people to give up their worldly desires and to adopt Faqr, i.e. poverty of heart. One could say that Bedil wanted men to renounce the world altogether as did the recluses, and herein, therefore, was a ground for misunderstanding. Hence, to clarify his views on this point, Bedil has written a Mukhammas³, beginning with the line :

نگویست که یکبار ز اشتغال برآ

[I do not say that you should leave your jobs completely.]

In this poem he has emphasised that gradually one should develop a particular attitude of mind which should attach more and more importance to spiritual life. I quote the stanza which sums up the central idea :

تو جوهری نفس و تابکی تمسّق جسم فمردگی مکش از انّت تملّق جسم
 بیایست اینهمه چسپان مخواه چارق جسم چونیست وحشت یکبارت از تعلق جسم
 چو آب کم کم ازین کوزه سفال برآ

[By nature you are an Essence. How long would you love the body ?

Don't wither, therefore, because of your anxiety to flatter the body.

This rustic shoe of a body should not stick to your feet so closely.

1. Page 142, supra.

2. Page 142, supra.

3. *Kulliyāt-i-Bedil*, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 253, ff. 4346-4356,

If your attachment for the body does not permit, you to discard it forthwith,

Then, like water, trickle slowly out of this earthen pot.]

The gradual process outlined in the fifth line shows that the poet was anxious to remove every difficulty which people could feel in practising his philosophy.

There is still another point about the *Mukhammasāt* of Bedil which must be considered. The poet has written two *Shahr Ashob* poems, of the kind, which criticise his times. Bedil had seen the golden times of the mighty Emperors *Shāh Jahān* and *Aurangzeb*, but when after the short and comparatively not a bad reign of *Shāh 'Ālam* (1707-1712 A.D.), the sceptre passed into the hands of voluptuous and self-indulgent rulers,² Bedil witnessed depravity and degeneration of unprecedented character, and he was, therefore, much pained. Most sorrowfully he describes the ways of the society of those days and foretells the downfall of the *Mughals*. In view of the historic significance of the description its summary has been given below. It may be borne in mind that these are not the observations of an ordinary poet, who is usually heard complaining against his contemporaries. On the other hand, here we learn well-thought-out and considerate views of a thinker who, as a social philosopher, was fully aware of the trend of his times :

The Emperors were pusillanimous and lascivious. Their courtiers too were worthless and licentious. Gone were the glorious days when aristocracy consisted of man of integrity. Instead only pampered, senseless,

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Bedil*, Ma'ārif Library, Kābul, Mss. No. 504/9, fs. 1060, 1065.

2. *Jahāndār Shāh*, the successor of *Shāh 'Ālam*, had a concubine named *Lal Kanwar*—a music girl by birth. Undreamt of honours were showered on her, and her relatives were elevated to the highest ranks. See my article about her published in the *Yasrāb* for September 1931. About the low-born relatives of *Lal Kanwar* and the mischief created by them, *Khāfi Khān* remarks in *Muntakhab-e-Lubab*, Vol. II, at p. 639 :

چنان بازار رود و سرود قمر قوالان و کوانت و دهاذهی گرم گردید که نزدیک
برد قاضی قرايه کش و مفتی پیايه نوش گردد و همه برادران و خویشان دور و نزدیک
نعل کنور به منصب چهار هزارى و پنج هزارى و عطای قبل و تقاره و جواهر بیش بها
سرفرازی یافت میان هم قوم خود سرفراز گردیدند و اعتبار خاندان زادان و دیگر صاحب
کمالان و علماء از میان برخاست

[The community of the musicians, minstrels, and songsters had such a good market for their songs and music, that it looked as if the *Qāzi* himself would become a drunkard, and the *Mufī* a tipsy. All the brothers, and near and distant relatives of *Lal Kanwar* were made prominent among their community, by raising them to the *Manāsabs* of 4,000 and 5,000, and by granting them elephants, drums, and priceless jewels. No more there was any respect for the old, loyal and faithful courtiers, other accomplished persons, and the 'Ulema.]

vain, and proud people had been promoted to higher ranks. They were base in nature, light in intellect, and corrupt in morals. Their only concern was to amass wealth, and to add to the number of their palatial buildings and their horses and elephants. These self-conceited braggarts were proud of their strength and valour, but in fact they had grown effeminate, and like women busied themselves in make-up before the mirrors. They were more quarrelsome than womenfolk, but by their big bellies, large moustaches, angry faces, and proud posture tried to overawe the people. None recognised their authority, still they thought they were potentates. The general public, too, had adopted their ways and men, having greater potency¹ for sexual intercourse, were respected in the society. Unnatural sexuality had become so common that sodomy was practised openly, and women searched "husbands" for their men. As the husbands were henpecked they pimped for their wives. When the society had grown so hollow,² in every respect, Bedil prophesied :

گردش احوال نا مردان نمی خواهد درنگ زود برهم می خورد این مجمع آثار تنگی
تلبان تکی بهادر زنجلب تا چند شاه

[The change in the condition of the unmanly will occur sooner than later.

Soon will this shameless crowd disperse.

How long can the cuckolds be brave and the panderous to their wives be kings.]

And the Muslims of India know, at their cost, how far this prophecy was correct!

TARKĪB BAND

This poem³ of Bedil consists of thirty stanzas (bands), rhyming turn by turn in different letters,⁴ in their perfect alphabetical order, and each stanza has twenty one couplets. The first three stanzas are doxological, and praise God as the Self-sufficient Reality, from which everything originated, and of which everything is now enamoured. The fourth stanza has a discussion about the Eternal and the Contingent, and the two succeeding ones are didactic in content, and urge Man to attend more to heart :

1. This looks obscene, but I am simply faithful to the original.

2. Study in this connection *Muragga'-e-Dehli* by Dargah Quli Khān who wrote this book only a few years after the death of Bedil. The book has already been quoted (p.....supra), and the reference serves the purpose to a great extent.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Tarkīb Band* (In *Qasāid*), pp. 2-11. A *Tarkīb Band* is a poem consisting of many stanzas of equal length. In *Bedil's Tarkīb Band* the last hemistiches of all the stanzas rhyme with one another.

4. No bands, however, rhyme in these letters :

بغیر معنی دل نیست هیچ جا مفهوم

[Without the meaning of the heart nothing is comprehensible.]

The seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas have been dedicated to the praise of the holy Prophet of Islam, and in the next four, the four Orthodox Caliphs of the Prophet, i.e. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān and 'Alī, have been eulogised. In the fourteenth stanza the poet sums up what he said about the Caliphs in the four preceding stanzas and he gives the central idea in this verse :

یکی سپهر صداقت دوم حقیقت عدل سوم محیط حیا چارم آیه اخلاص

[One is the sphere of truthfulness, the second is the essence of justice,

The third is the ocean of modesty, and the fourth the sign of sincerity.]

The next fifteen stanzas are again didactic, teaching Unity and love, self-renunciation, and self-realisation. The last stanza, i.e. the thirtieth, is a pathetic statement of how all the great men—great in intellect, in status, and in spirit, feel helpless when they are at the point of death, and Bedil, therefore, has urged :

تو دل به بند به شاهی که از کمال کرم
نخواهدت بچنین روز عاجز و مضطر

[You should have attachment for the Almighty who, out of extreme kindness,

Will not like you to be so helpless and distressed on such a day.]

Some of the verses in the *Tarkīb Band* are extremely beautiful, for example :

طراوت لب معشوق اگرند در نظر است
زدیدن گهر و لعل آبدار چه حظ

[If the freshness of the lips of the beloved is not in sight,
No joy can be had by looking at the pearls and rubies.]

بجیب خویش صدف وار گوهری داری
برنگ موج دویدن بهر کنار چه حظ

[Like the mother of pearl you have a pearl in your bosom,
There is no fun then in running about, like the wave, to every shore.]

چو جمع گشت دلت حسرت طیش تاکی
اگر بدست تو آمد دگر بسنگ مزن

[When your heart is settled, why to have yearning for restlessness.

The pearl is in your grasp. Don't strike it against the stone.]

TARJĪ' BAND

It is one of the best productions of Bedil, and appears to be written at the highest pitch of inspiration. It embodies all the fundamental principles of the mystical philosophy of the poet, and he commands, in this poem, a force and spontaneity rarely met with elsewhere—in his own works or in the works of other poets. It was written as a replica² to a famous Tarjī' Band of 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289) whose refrain³ is :

که بچشان دل مبین جز دوست
هرچه بینی بدان که مظهر اوست

[That with the eyes of heart see nothing except the Beloved.
Everything that you see should be regarded His manifestation.]

I am quoting here *Khushgū*. He continues : "As 'Irāqī spoke like a mystic, who is still on the Path, he said that everything is a manifestation of God, while a gnostic believes that the objects are the Essence Itself. Bedil, therefore, said :

که جهان نیست جز تجلی* دوست
این من و مان همه اضافت اوست

[That the world is nothing except the Light of God.

These, I and others, have all a relative existence.]

As this refrain shows, according to Bedil, the universe, as well as everything else that it contains, has a relative existence, i.e. these things exist only in name and not in reality :

نیست جز اسم بال پروازش
فهم کن آشیان عتقا را

[The wings for his flight are nothing except a name.
Just think of the nest of phoenix.

1. *Kulliyāt-Safdarī, Tarjī' Band* (in *Qasā'id*) pp. 11-21. Ivanow talks of a series of Tarjī' Bands by Bedil. See Ivanow, W., *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal under No. 843*.

2. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'ārif*, May 1942, p. 372.

3. I have not been able to find this Tarjī' Band in the manuscript for published *Kulliyāt* of 'Irāqī. Professor Arberry has edited 'Irāqī's '*Ushshāq Nāma*, but there too, in the life-sketch of the poet, I could find no mention of this Band. Browne also does not speak about it in his *Literary History of Persia*. There is, however, another Tarjī' Band by 'Irāqī, having the metre of Bedil's Band, and it has this refrain :

که همه اوست هرچه هست یقین جان و جانان و دلبر و دل و دین

The first strophe of this Tarjī' Band has been rendered into English verse by Browne. See *Kulliyāt-e-'Irāqī*, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 237, fs. 33-a36-a. Ibid., Nawilkishore Edition, pages 39-44 ; Browne, E.G. *The Literary of Persia*, III, pp. 129-30 ; Arberry, A. J. A., *The Song of Lovers* ('*Ushshāq Nāma* ed.).

It is, therefore, God alone that exists and the world as such is nominal and unreal. Whatever reality is ascribed to the world, it is because of its descent from God, and in that sense it is identical with God. But, inspite of this essential identity, it is impossible that after its descent from the Absolute Being, there may be any possibility of its going back to its place of origin. A wave separates itself from the ocean, but then, inspite of its best efforts, it cannot think of becoming ocean again :

روزگار یست از محیط بقا همچو موج او قتاده ایم جدا

[Ages have passed since out of the Ocean of Eternity

We separated like the wave.

بتردد محیط نتوان شد موج بیهوده درد سر دارد

It is impossible to become ocean by exertion,

In vain does the wave trouble itself.]

From Bedil's point of view, then, the world is absolutely different from God, and he therefore does not say, like Ibn-al-'Arabī, that the world is God and that God should not be sought beyond this world. Bedil elaborates this thought further at another place in the poem while addressing man. He says :

ای تراشیده نسبت مظهر دور عینیت نماند بنال

[O thou who hath forged the relation of manifestation

Weep as the period of thy identity is no more.

آئینه گر همه حضور شود ند نماید ز شخص جز تمثال

[Even if the mirror is all in presence,

It would not show except the image.]

Bedil thus maintains that Man can no longer claim identity with God on the score of being His manifestation and image. This shows that Bedil was not at all a thorough going pantheist as Khushgū's remarks, quoted in the beginning, make him out to be. According to Bedil, then, the world may have a relative existence, but, as it is, it is other than God. In my opinion, it is the fundamental difference between Bedil and 'Irāqī, because the latter was a cent per cent همه اوستی, i.e. pantheist, and followed² Ibn-al-'Arabī to the letter.

There is still another difference between 'Irāqī and Bedil, and that again is of fundamental nature. In 'Irāqī's *Tarjī 'Band*,³ we find only an exposition of the poet's pantheistic views and nothing more. There is no place in 'Irāqī's philosophy for Man which makes him an envy of the whole creation. 'Irāqī's main concern is monism, but with Bedil Man too occupies a pre-eminent place in the scale of

1. Fārūqī, *Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd*, pp. 61, 62.

2. Arberry, *The Song of Lovers*, Preface, xviii.

3. I mean the one mentioned at page 245 supra, foot-note 3.

things. The very first strophe of *Bedil's Tarjī Band* is a vigorous encomium of Man. Only the following four verses may be studied :

ماحریفان بزم اسراریم هست جام شهود دیداریم
جوش بحر محیط لاهوتیم فیض صبح جهان انواریم
جلوه فرماست حق یکسوت ما لاجرم طرفه رنگها داریم
برق عشقیم شعله می خندیم ایر شوقیم ناله می باریم

[We are associates of the society of Occult Secrets ;

We are drunk with the wine of blessed vision ;

We are the ebullition of the ocean of Lahut (Divinity) ;

We are the grace of the morning of the world of light ;

God manifested Himself in our form ;

Undoubtedly we have got strange modes ;

We are the lightning of love and we smile flames ;

We are the cloud of longing and we rain lamentations.]

The whole of the *Tarjī Band* stresses the unique position of Man. It makes discussions about his potentialities, it tells how to bring that potentiality into actuality, and it describes the miraculous powers of Bedil's Ideal Man. While comparing Man with other objects, Bedil says that they too may have their origin in the same Reality, but they cannot claim equality with Man :

نبود هم ترازوی یاقوت سنگ و آهن اگرچه از کان است
در شبستان غفلت آفاق آدمی آفتاب تابان است

[They cannot be weighed with the ruby,

Although the stones and iron come from mines.

In the chamber of the forgetfulness of the Universe,

Man is the luminous Sun.]

Bedil asserts again and again that Man has boundless power and enjoys free will :

گر خداوندیست سلطانی بندگی هم وزاری دارد

[If Godship is sultanate,

To be a Man is also a viziership.]

گر نگاه تو بالیقین جوشد هرچه خواهد دلت همان بشی

[If your look surges out with confidence,

You would find happening whatever you desire.]

خواه جنت گزین و خواه مقر که تو در اختیار مختاری

[You may select paradise or hell,

For you have got freewill.]

With his freewill and his prerogative Man controls the destiny of the Universe :

ساز آفاق جمله خاموش است این قدر شور زیر و بم نائیم
غیب عرض شهادت است اینجا هستی ظاهر از عدم نائیم

Life and Works of Bedil

مزنوشت رسوز هر دو جهان گر کسی می کند رقم سیم
ابر تحقیق فیض می بارد عالمی سائل و کرم سیم

[The musical instrument of the Universe is absolutely quiet,
We are the uproar of its bass and treble.

The invisible is visible here.

One is the being appearing out of non-existence.

The writ of the mysteries of both the worlds,

If it is transcribed, it is transcribed by us.

The cloud of inquiry showers bounty,

A world comes a-begging at our doors and we give.]

repetition of the consonant 'm,' in the rhyme and refrain of the verses, points out with what emphasis Bedil wanted to express his views. Man being so sublime and so mighty, it is sorrowful, I say, if after realising his self, he is not proud :

داغم از وقع بی نیازی دل که بخود وارسید و ناز نه کرد

[I am sorrowful on account of the indifferent disposition of my heart,

It has realised itself and still does not feel elated.]

Feeling of exaltedness is thus the natural outcome of self-realisation, this is the ego-sustaining positive feeling on which Iqbal, in many times, has laid much stress.

The foregoing remarks sum up the main characteristics of the *Band of Bedil* and point out how it is different from *'Irāqī's* *Band*. It is also apparent that *Khushgū*, being a Hindu and therefore naturally inclined to thorough going pantheism, could not grasp the real significance of this strophe-poem of Bedil. It is also clear that, in the development of mystic thought, Bedil's contribution pointed out emphatically to the path which culminated in Iqbal, as a thinker, Bedil is thus the forerunner of the Poet of the East as Iqbal is called. Finally, all these comparisons and contrasts show that the *Tarjū Band of Bedil*, having thirty four stanzas of twenty lines each, excluding the refrain, will stand out as the poet's monumental production.

FRAGMENTS

After the *Qasā'id* many *Qit'at* are given in *Kulliyat-e-Bedil* of the East Press, Bombay. All of them relate to different episodes of the poet's life, and I have, therefore, already spoken about them while writing the biographical portion of this work. This may, however, be added that the fragments constitute a nice model of sincerity and

1. Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, p. 165. Iqbal says : The title of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as others.

2. See 'Abdulla Anwar Beg, *The Poet of the East* p. 1.

3. *Kulliyat-e-Safdar*, *Qit'at*, pp. 44-58.

spontaneousness and proclaim the liberality of the poet's heart. One of the fragments is about the poet's beloved,¹ and describes how lovely the hands and the feet appeared, when dyed with henna. The fragment is exclusively of artistic value, and, as I have not mentioned it before, I give its opening and concluding verses :

آن رنگ که می داشت درینج از ورق گل
از دور کف دست تو بو مید و بپا بست

[The colour which kept itself back from the rose,
Kissed your hands from a distance and stuck to your feet.]

بیدل تو هم از شوق چمن شو که به این رنگ
شیرازة دیوان تو امروز حنا بست

[Bedil you should also blossom like the garden, because with
this colour,

The tape of your Diwān has been dyed.]

RIDDLES

The *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* has four riddles² also. In the first by the repetition of a word لا اله الا الله (There is no god except Allah) is obtained, and the word is هلال. The second is about the seeds, which grow without being sown, and when they are brought together, they grind like a mill. Those seeds are the teeth. The third is a riddle about the tongue, and the fourth about a mill. The last is quoted below to show the nature of this kind of verse.

شخصی دیدم نه سر عیان نی گردن لبها برهم نهانده وامانده دهن
دنداناش هزار ایک [پنهان بشکم] کارش همه وقت خوردن و نالیدن

1. Sher Khān Lodhī says that this beautiful fragment was written when Mīr Luṭfullah son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was married and henna was applied to his hands and feet. See, Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mīr'at-ul Khayāl*, p. 392.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Qasā'id*, p. 64.

CHAPTER VII

Prose Works

1. CHAHĀR 'UNŞUR

THIS is the chief prose work of Bedil and, as already stated,¹ it is primarily the poet's autobiography, though it has not been written in the chronological order; and, therefore, for a proper and complete biography of the author, it must be supplemented by other sources. It was Sirājud Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū who first of all pointed² out that some of the events of Bedil's life have been described by Bedil himself in *Chahār 'Unşur*. It can, however, serve as a useful source for the poet's life up to 1100 A.H.³ (A.D. 1688-9), and hence for the events of the later years of his life we must tap other sources. It was begun⁴ in 1095 A.H. (1683-4 A.D.), and was completed⁵ in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.). Thus it took Bedil more than twenty years to finish *Chahār 'Unşur*. The book has been divided⁶ into four chapters or 'Unşurs. In the first 'Unşur Bedil vividly⁷ represents the moral character, the religious sentiments, and the literary careers of several distinguished persons, with whom he passed the early period of his life. The second 'Unşur has been devoted to the description of the circumstances in which he wrote some of his verses. The third tells how some of the prose pieces given in this section were produced. And the fourth gives some of the strange and miraculous happenings of his life. While writing the biography of Bedil, I used *Chahār 'Unşur* as a source off and on, but as the general plan of the book is unknown to my readers, and as some of its material could not be included in the biography, I proceed to discuss the chapters one by one as briefly as possible.

1. Page 133 supra.

2. Khān Ārzū, *Majma'un-Nafāis*, Mss. Pb. University Library No. 1489 f. 56.

3. Page 133 supra.

4. Page 85 supra.

5. Page 133 supra.

6. *Kulliyāt-i-Safdarī, Chahār Unşur*, 4.

7. *Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Mss.*, Vol. III, under No 381.

The book begins with a preface, in prose, which expresses that God transcends all descriptions of Him, He is unknowable, and that neither His Essence nor His Attributes are known to us. Then, after praising the holy Prophet and telling why and with what plan the book is being written, Bedil begins the First 'Unsur.¹ At first he talks about his infancy and childhood, the death of his father, his admission into a Maktab, and his sharp intelligence, which began to manifest itself in the very beginning. Then one by one he speaks about Shāikh Kamāl, Shāh Mulūk, Shāh-e-Yaka Āzād, Shāh-e-Fāzil, Mīrzā Qalandar, and Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallahī—the eminent persons who are all Bedil's spiritual teachers. Like Farīdud Dīn 'Aṭṭār, who begins every chapter of his *Tazkiratul Auliya* with metrical² epithets about the new saint to be discussed, Bedil also employs sonorous adjectives in praise of each one of these saints. Having made the beginning in this way Bedil continues the account in a florid style illustrating his points by *Maṣnavīs*, *Ghazals*, fragments, single verses, or *Rubā'īs*. More often than not statement of a fact leads to some profound conclusion, and then Bedil commences, in his characteristic style, discussion of some very abstruse problem connected with Metaphysics or mystical philosophy. This shows why Bedil calls³ *Chāhār 'Unsur* as the rose-garden of Mysticism.

About the saints mentioned above, necessary details have already been given in the first and second chapters of this work, and I should not repeat them here, but I would like to state a few more factors about Shāh-e-Qāsim that have been mentioned in this 'Unsur. Sayyid Maḥmūd, a descendant of Khawāja Ya'qūb Charkhī,⁴ was the Governor of Orissa, when Shāh-e-Qāsim and Bedil were there.⁵ The Sayyid was suffering from a grave malady. Mīrzā Zarīf, the maternal uncle of Bedil, requested Shāh-e-Qāsim to pray for the Sayyid, and consequently he recovered very soon. Three more miracles (کرامات) were also displayed by the saint. A certain person, named Asad, who was a *shī'a* by faith, talked irreverently about Shāh-e-Qāsim at the time when he prayed for the recovery of Sayyid Maḥmūd. Soon after, when Asad was going in his palanquin, it was overturned automatically and he was thrown off into a pool of filth. There was also another *Shī'a* Hakīm Tāhir Gilānī. He was a highly cultured

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chāhār 'Unsur*, pp. 1-47.

2. Bahār, Āqā-e-Muḥammad Taqī. *Sabuk Shināsi*, II, 105.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chāhār 'Unsur*, p. 4.

4. Khawāja Ya'qūb, a disciple of Khawāja Bihāud Dīn Naqqashbandī (d. 791/1384), belonged to Charkh—a suburb of Ghazna. He died in 851/1447, when his fame as a saint had spread far and near. See Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatul Asfiyā*, I, 366.

5. Page 36 supra.

person and an illustrious physician, and Shāh-e-Qāsim was very much pleased with him. One day the saint said that he had prayed to God to make the Hakīm's inner self also as pure as his outer self was, but he did not know why there was so much delay. The same evening Hakīm Tāhīr Gīlānī went as usual to the tomb of his father, Hakīm Nūrud Dīn, to pray for his soul. At first he smelt there something stinking, and then he saw an apparition rising out of the tomb. Tāhīr Gīlānī was terribly afraid, and was going back, when he heard: "Tāhīr, I am your father Nūrud Dīn. This is my real self. Learn a lesson from me. My false faith has made me miserable." This led Hakīm Tāhīr Gīlānī to renounce Shīism. When this proselytisation took place Shāh-e-Qāsim recited the following verses of Maulānā Maghribī:

ما جام جهان نمائی ذاتیم ما هادی عالم صفاتیم
گو مرده بیا که روح بخشیم گو تشنه بیا که ما فراتیم

[We are the world-showing cup of His Essence.

We are the guides in the realm of His Attributes.

Ask the dead to come so that we might grant life.

Ask the thirsty to arrive as we are the Euphrates.]

The last *karāmat* of Shāh-e-Qāsim is about a rich Tūrānī Big, who was suffering from consumption, but remained hale and hearty so long as he was in Cuttack in keeping with the advice of the saint, but died immediately when he started on his journey for Tūrān.

At the end of the *First 'Unsur* Bedil eloquently praises the saints and says:

وصف این طائفه تفسیر کلام الله است

[The praises of these persons constitute the exegesis of the Holy Book.]

And he rebukes those poets pungently who sing praises of the kings who love only worldly glory.

In the *Second 'Unsur*² Bedil tells how on ten different occasions he composed some particular verses. At first he tells how he composed his maiden³ Rubā'ī at the age of ten, and then he describes how he made a versified reply⁴ on behalf of Shāh-e-Fāzil when somebody requested him to pay a visit to his home. On that occasion, Bedil says, Shāh-e-Fāzil remarked that Man is the embodiment of all the

1. A thoroughgoing pantheistic poet of Tabriz died 809/1406-7. See Brown: *A Literary History of Persia*, III. 330-344.

2. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Chahār 'Unsur*, 47-73.

3. *Ibid.*, 47.

4. *Ibid.*, 48-50.

5. Page 27, *supra*.

secrets of Being and hence deserves all the worldly and divine perfections. On that very occasion a person enquired how the I-amness of Pharaoh differed from that of Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj. Shāh-e-Fāzil replied that Maṣṣūr uttered 'I am the Truth' only after complete self-annihilation, when he was perfectly sure about the truth of Unity; but Pharaoh said, 'I am your Lord, the most high' when he was still wandering about in the forest of plurality, and hence, on being tested, even the drops of the former's blood bore testimony to his truthfulness, while the latter, on finding himself in the midst of the surging waters of the Nile, cried out that he believed that there is no God save Him in Whom the children of Israel believed.¹

Having described the circumstances, in which Bedil composed the fragment on behalf of Shāh-e-Fāzil, Bedil gives an account of a meeting with Shāh Abul Faiz, at the residence of Mirzā Zarif, when different topics of Metaphysics were discussed, and when, at the end of the meeting, Bedil composed² a Rubāī. The fourth³ occasion, when Bedil composed verses extempore, was the convivial meeting at the bank of a tank in Rani Sagar. The fifth⁴ composition is a verse in which all the letters have dots and which was written in Orissa in the presence of Shāh-e-Qāsim and the poet Walah of Herat. The sixth⁵ are 57 couplets which Bedil added to the preface of the collection of the sayings of saints, made by Bedil in Orissa. Bedil says that Shāh-e-Qāsim sent this collection to another saint, named Shāh Ni'matullah Fīrūzpūrī, with the remarks that it was the first composition of a novice in mysticism, and Shāh Ni'matullah in return praised Bedil and foretold that he would have a brilliant future. The seventh⁶ is a description of how a single couplet by Bedil drove of geni from a fort in Mathura. Here Bedil expostulates that even the words of a man, spiritually enlightened, have a mysterious force. The eighth⁷ is the following couplet:

از هرچه سرائیمت فزونى خود گوئی چه گوئیمت چونى

[Thou art beyond what I sing about Thee,
Tell Thyself how art Thou?]

1. Reference to the Holy Qurān, x. 90. It may be noted that the quotation in Chahār 'Unsur is incorrect.

2. Chahār 'Unsur, 50-54. Page 35 supra.

3. Chahār 'Unsur, 54-5. Page 32 supra.

4. Chahār 'Unsur, 56-7. Page 39 supra.

5. Chahār 'Unsur, 57-9. Page 38 supra.

6. Chahār 'Unsur, 59-62. Page 81 supra.

7. Chahār 'Unsur, 62-9. Page 41 supra.

Bedil used to sing it in Orissa when his heart was consumed by love for God. It was this verse which introduced Bedil to *Shāh-e-Kābuli* in Dehli in an occult atmosphere. All the three meetings between Bedil and *Shāh-e-Kābuli* have already been described in connection with this couplet. The ninth¹ is the couplet told by Bedil to *Shāh-e-Qāsim*, in a dream, on the subject of modesty, and the tenth² is the chronogram about the death of *Shāh-e-Qāsim*, which Bedil told to the angels in a dream.

Now the third chapter,³ or 'Unşur-Seyyom as named by Bedil. It contains six prose pieces of metaphysical, ethical, mystical, and literary value. In the beginning Bedil describes the difference between prose and verse, and maintains that essentially they are identical, with the only difference in quantity—prose being verse in detail, and verse only brief prose. According to Bedil, therefore, prose and verse are similar in nature, and if in Bedil's prose we find embellishments, usually met with in verse, we should not be surprised. After clarifying his views about these literary conceptions, Bedil begins his first⁴ prose composition with these words :

نیستی آهنگان محفل اعیان بوی از قانون وجود نه برده اند

[The mortal ones which form the assembly of the essences of things do not have even the faintest tinge of beingness.]

This is the Persian version of the following saying given in *the commentary of Fuṣūṣul Hikam* by Kāshānī :

الا عیان ماضیت رائحة من الوجود

[The essences have not got the slightest touch of reality about them.]

The occasion for this discussion of a metaphysical problem arose when, in a meeting, people were talking sorrowfully about the dead and Bedil remarked :

هر نقشی که می بینی حرفیست که می شنوی

[Whatever you see is a word that you hear.]

This discussion is hard to understand, and I, therefore, give its summary in as intelligible terms as possible.

1. *Chahār 'Unşur*, 69-71. Page 39 supra.

2. *Ibid.*, 71-2. Page 76 supra.

3. *Ibid.*, 73-100.

4. *Chahār 'Unşur*, 73-78.

5. Kāshānī, *Sharh-e-Fuṣūṣul Hikam*, 63 ; Faruqi, *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, 61.

Bedil says that God alone is the Real being and everything else has only relative existence; and creation is simply the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God, as Man is the manifestation of the Name جامع (The Gatherer of all). When a Name, i.e. a word, is the origin of everything, Bedil holds, whatever we see is a word that we hear. Again, the essences of all things are eternally known to God, and His creative word (Kun, "Be") actualises their existence. Thus creation depends on knowledge or a mere thought. Bedil, therefore, is of the opinion that on the passing away of a person one should not feel bereaved because he was essentially a thought—devoid of all real existence.

The second¹ is a short composition about liberality and is named *Isāriya*. Bedil wrote it before he was busy with this '*Unşur* and appended it here to praise the liberal and to condemn the mean. Bedil says that the holy Prophet (peace be on him) has been praised² for his excellent manners, and, as we learn from a study of his life, the excellence of manners and morals lies in liberality, which means trying always and under all conditions to win over the hearts of the people by conducing to their happiness. Bedil further explains:

کیفیت سخا لیز اکتی سرشته اند که تا کریم سائل را منون تصور نماید جوهر
بروت گذاشته است و تا باذل خود را بصادر احسان گمان برد معنی حیا رنگ باخته -

[The quality of generosity has been kneaded so delicately that if the generous person thinks the beggar is under obligation to him, the essence of generosity is lost; and if the liberal person is of the opinion that he has done a favour, the meaning of modesty ceases to have significance.]

Liberality has been explained in such a way that it comes to include reason, modesty, and faith also. Bedil speaks disparagingly about the mean and stingy and illustrates his point by two stories, one of a mean trader and the other of a stingy mulla.

The third³ is a purely literary composition called *Bahāristān-e-Junūn* (The springtime of Madness). When Bedil wrote his vernal⁴ song in his *Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam*, those of his friends who were interested in the beauties of prose requested him to write a similar piece in prose too. Although the subject had been thrashed threadbare by his predecessors, yet Bedil consented to describe the charms of spring in prose, which, he again asserts, is verse in detail. Elegance of words,

1. *Chahār 'Unşur*, 78-85.

2. The Holy Qurān, lxviii : 4.

و انک اعلیٰ خلق عظیم

[And verily thou art of a grand nature.]

3. *Chahār 'Unşur*, 85-92.

4. Page 253 supra.

freshness of similes and metaphors, colourfulness of imagery, and a pleasant abundance of fanciful conceits have lent this composition a noval charm, a glimpse of which can be had from the following sentence :

نگه چون طوطی هر قدر به پرواز آید محوسبزه زار است و اندیشه برنگ طاؤس
چندانکه بال برهم زند مقیم گلزار -

[The sight, like the parrot, may fly as far as possible, it will find itself face to face with verdure ; and the imagination may wing its way to any place, it will find itself in the garden.]

At the end of this composition is a *Maṣnavī*, having seventythree verses, in which the enchanting scenery of spring has been described again. The epilogue consists of a statement which reaffirms that Man himself is the spring.

Hujūm-e-Hairat (Abundance of Bewilderment) is the fourth piece of prose in the 'Unṣur. It is a short philosophical-cum-mystical composition, and its literary attractiveness has been successfully maintained. It expresses bewilderment, at the irremovable close relationship, existing between all things of Nature and stresses the importance of solitude. The fifth² is again a literary production called *Surma-e-Iḥbār* (the collyrium of Honour). As already³ indicated, this was written by Bedil when he lived in Akbarābād with Kāmgar Khān. It is a composition having *curiosa felicitas* and about it Sher Khān Lodhī remarks :

الحق اگر صاحب نظران سرمه سواد این کلمات را در دیده اعتبار کنند رواست
و اگر به تائید این سرمه اعتباری از بلند یهائی فطرتشی گیرند سواست - امروز اگر
ظهوری در عرصه ظهور می بود خفائی تخلص می یافت و بدست انصاف عنان ادعائی
نثر نویسی از جاده سخنوری می تافت -

[In fact if the wise and learned put the collyrium of the ink of these words in their bright eyes, it behoves ; and if by virtue of this collyrium they begin to have respect for his (Bedil's) towering genius, it is right. Had Zuhūrī been alive today he would have adopted Khafāī as his pen-name, and, out of justice, he would have abandoned all pretentious claims as a writer of prose.]

1. *Chāḡhār 'Unṣur*, 92-94.

2. *Ibid.*, 94-97.

3. Page 74 *supra*.

4. Sher Khān Lodhī, *Mir'atul Khayāl*, 396.

The sixth¹ and the last piece of prose is about the advantages of silence (نوائد خاموشی). Although it has mystical import, yet the practical wisdom of Bedil is also there. He asserts emphatically that moderation should be observed while acting upon this maxim of conduct, otherwise life-blood in the veins would be congealed. Also he says that expediency should be the guiding rule in this connection. One must speak when it is necessary, and silence should be observed when exigencies of the situation so require. Bedil has also remarked that the end of the *Third 'Unsur* has been quite suitably dedicated to "silence."

*The Fourth 'Unsur.*² In this '*Unsur*' Bedil describes some strange things observed or experienced by him during his life. The total number of the things of this kind is twelve. Bedil says that these things may be considered supernatural but in fact they are the result of the potentialities found in Nature. Having made this qualification, Bedil proceeds to describe first³ the wonder of Life. He tells how life starts from the microscopic particles of dust, moving in the "absolute soul" (روح مطلق) which rises in the form of moisture from the dust. He then traces how step by step life appears in minerals, vegetables, and animals, and how finally it perfectly blossoms out in Man. He has explained that it is will which is the cause of the appearance of ear, eye, tongue, hands, nose, and other organs in Man. Bedil is of the opinion that accidents go on combining endlessly to form new substances, and hence the interminable series of creation.

After this Bedil describes, one by one, the hypnotic glances⁴ of a blacksmith in Sara-e-Nikūdar, the burning⁵ looks of a Sādhū in Akbarpura, near Mathura, the mysterious disfigurement⁶ of his portrait, when he was ill in 1100 A.H. (1688-9 A.D.), and then its automatic restoration to its former state on his recovery. These incidents are followed by those two which demonstrate Bedil's consummate skill in the matter of charms and amulets—one tells how a dead maid-servant was restored⁷ to life, and the other shows how the spirits, which haunted a certain house in Dehlī, were driven away⁸ by his charms. Then

1. *Chahār 'Unsur*, 97-100.

2. *Ibid.*, 100-135.

3. *Ibid.*, 100-107.

4. *Ibid.*, 108-9.

5. *Ibid.*, 109-110.

6. *Ibid.*, 110-112.

7. *Ibid.*, 112-115.

8. *Ibid.*, 114-116.



Bedil states how once in Dehlī, while coming back from a walk through the bazar in the evening, he found himself actually lifted and moving in the air. The eighth incident took place in Akbarābād when Bedil found a gold coin² of the days of Akbar, and the ninth in Terhut, near a place called Chānd Chor, when Bedil, with two other persons, named Sarmast Khān and Mubārāz Khān, saw a peri.³ Bedil then describes two of his journeys in dangerous times, one⁴ from Patna to Mehsi in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), and the other⁵ from Mathura to Dehlī in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The twelfth⁶ and the last wonderful happening, described by Bedil, is a unique dream in which he saw and visited in Akbarābād the world of similitudes, and when he also saw the holy Prophet and Hazrat-e-‘Alī. Here Chahār ‘Unsur ends, and Bedil gives two⁷ chronograms which tell that the date of finishing the book is 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.).

The book was begun in 1095 A.H., and hence it took Bedil about twentyone years to complete it, but this does not mean that he was working at it at a uniform speed. Towards the end of the *Second ‘Unsur*, when the third meeting with Shāh-e-Kābulī, which took⁸ place in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), has been described, Bedil remarks⁹ :

امروز بیست سال است هست آن ساغر

[Today it is twenty years since I have been intoxicated with that wine.]

From this we deduce that Bedil wrote this sentence in 1100 A.H. (1688-9, A.D.), or the first two chapters of this book were written in a period of five years (1100-1095=5). Again, in the beginning of the *Fourth ‘Unsur*, when Bedil has narrated how a maid-servant was saved¹⁰ miraculously by him when he had settled in Dehlī after his marriage¹¹ in 1079 A.H., he makes the following significant remark¹² :

1. Chahār ‘Unsur, 116-118.

2. *Ibid.*, 118-119.

3. *Ibid.*, 119-124.

4. *Ibid.*, 124-128.

5. *Ibid.*, 128-132.

6. *Ibid.*, 132-136.

7. *Ibid.*, 136. Page 33, *supra*.

8. Page 64 *supra*.

9. Chahār ‘Unsur, 69.

10. Page 61 *supra*.

11. Page 60 *supra*.

12. Chahār ‘Unsur, 114.

ازان تاریخ تا امروز که منی و پنج سال محسوب فرجت شمارست آن خدمت
از متیدان ملسله زندگیت

[Since that date up to this day that thirtyfive years have elapsed, the maid-servant is still alive.]

This shows that Bedil wrote this sentence not before 1079+35 = 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that it took Bedil at least fourteen years to write the *Third 'Unsur*. And when we know that this 'Unsur consists mainly of those prose compositions written on previous occasions, we arrive at the conclusion that during the first fourteen years of the twelfth Hijra century Bedil had almost stopped writing his *Chahār 'Unsur*. He finished it in 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.). This is a conclusive proof of the fact that his speed was the fastest while writing the *Fourth 'Unsur*. But when we keep in mind that the book has only 136 pages,² we gather that Bedil wrote and compiled it quite leisurely, sometimes leaving it altogether, and again writing a page or so after long intervals. It was perhaps due to the fact that Bedil was, during that time, busy³ with his *Munawwari 'Irfān*.

Chahār 'Unsur is the chief prose-work of Bedil, and hence it represents his style as a prose-writer. It is, therefore, advisable that a few remarks should be made about the style of the book. While assessing the literary value of his prose, Bedil's critics group themselves into two opposite camps. One group has denounced him vehemently while the other has unqualified praise for him. One of the chief detractors is Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn (d. 1180/1766) who says⁴:

نثر بدیل بفهم نمی آید اگر مراجعت ایران دست دهد برای ریشخند
بزم احباب ره آوردی بهتر ازین نیست.

[The prose of Bedil is unintelligible. If I go back to Iran, no better gift can be thought of for entertaining the friends.]

Ḥazīn is followed by Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād (d. 1910 A.D.) who has said⁵:

"The *Chahār 'Unsur*. . . of Bedil is a famous specimen of fanciful conceits. One is surprised to read it. It is full of izāfats,⁶ metaphors, involved sentences, and conceits within

1. Pages 74, 348 supra. *Surma-e-I'tibār* was written in Akbarābād when Bedil was living with Kāngar Khān in 1081 A.H., and *Bahāristān-e-Junūn* after the composition of *Muḥit-e-A'zam* in 1078 A.H. A perusal of the contents of the third will relate the same story about the other compositions also.

2. I have in view the *Chahār 'Unsur* of *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*.

3. *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*.

4. Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād, *Nigāristān-e-Fārs*, 212.

5. Ibid., *Sakhsunān-e-Fārs*, 93-4.

6. The relation of a noun with the genitive case following it is expressed by a *kasra*, and is called *Kasrah-e-Izāfat*.

conciets. Moreover, the sentences rhyme with each other and are sonoric. The conceits are so subtle that they escape one's notice, and whatever one comprehends that has no reality. Diction is most elegant but it lacks sense. One is at a loss to understand what has been written and why has it been written. If some history book, or a treatise on Ethics, or a book dealing with some science, or still again some ordinance of the Government is written in this style, what would be the plight of the readers?"

It is apparent Maulānā Āzād is too harsh, and he fails to see any virtue in Bedil's prose. To these traducers Alḥāf Ḥusain Ḥālī (d. 1333-1914) has replied:¹

Due to the evergrowing taste for a natural style, these subtleties may be disliked by the people, but these are simply trends of times which are ever changing. This, therefore, cannot minimise the proud achievements of those masters who invented a new style.

Thus, according to Ḥālī, the true criterion, for judging the value of Bedil's prose, is to see it in the light of the literary trends of his times. This will automatically explain why Bedil's prose was liked by his contemporaries, or by those who see eye to eye with them.

Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616-7) had evolved² a new poetic style in prose in his *Nau Ras*, *Gulzār-e-Ibrāhīm*, and *Khān-e-Khalīl*, and this style had become very popular in India. He avoided high-sounding words of Arabic vocabulary and adorned his expression by fresh similes and metaphors, and employed allusions and exaggerations. But he was not satisfied with elegance of expression only. He thought subtle conceits were also indispensable. Thus he used to express subtle thoughts in a most elegant manner, and invariably introduced in his verbal and literary artifices an element of novelty. In addition to this he used to write parallel sonoric sentences, and this parallelism was so perfect that no sentence could be replaced.

Now, as remarked³ by Khushgū in his *Safina*, if we observe Bedil's prose carefully we come to the conclusion that it is an imitation of Zuhūrī's style, and if we go deeper and make comparisons we find that Bedil's style is an improvement⁴ upon the original model. His diction is more elegant and chaste and his aesthetic

1. Ḥālī, Alḥāf Ḥusain, *Yadgū-e-Ghālīb*, 124.

2. Qatīl, *Chār Sharbat*, 67.

3. Khushgū, *Safina*, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 4540, f. 126-a.

4. Sher Khān Lodhi, *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, 396; Wahid Qureshi, *Insha Literature*, Pb. University Library Ms. No. 6835, f. 200.

taste in particular is more highly developed. The following sentences may be studied in this connection :

آسوده تر از عکس در فضای آئینه می تا ختیم و بی نغزش تر از صدا در صاحت
هوا عنان می انداختیم -

پریزادی از آن طلسم بی نقاب گردید چون طراوت بر فرش سبزه نشسته -

چمن تا رنگ پریده را شکار نماید از رگهای گل دام نهاده و بلبل تا ناله ریمیده
را در کنار گیرد - از منقار آغوش کشاده - گردش چشم نرگس نگاه رفته را از عدم
بر می گرداند و پیچش زلف منیل سرزشته نفس گسیخته باز بخود می رساند -

I have deliberately avoided to give translations of these sentences, because a diction so chaste and constructions so graceful and original could not be reproduced in another tongue. It was in view of these peculiarities of Bedil's prose that his contemporaries liked this style very much. His rival¹ Sarkhush says² :

بیدل نثرهای رنگین می نگارد

[Bedil writes elegant prose.

'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār remarks³ :

ذهن سخن بانس به آئینه نثر دولت خانه سلطان معنی را آذین می بندد

[His (Bedil's) fertile imagination weaves enchanting webs of conceits in prose.]

And Husain Qulī Khān, writing in 1233 A.E. (1817-8 A.D.) has stated⁴ :

بیدل طرز جدید و مسلک نو اختیار کرده
در نظم و نثر بغایت دست قدرت داشته

[Bedil adopted a new style, and had great mastery in writing both verse and prose.]

Even a modern critic, Niāz Fatahpurī, praises⁵ Bedil for his elegant prose and adds that each and every word used by Bedil should be prized as life. There is still one more peculiarity of Bedil's prose which has not been noted by anyone else. Like Sa'di, he is fond of writing short, pithy and paralled sentences, e.g.

مغفرت بر بهانه جوست و کرم سخت التفات خو

[Forgiveness is very much in search of excuses and liberality is very condescending.]

1. Page 45 supra.

2. Sarkhush, *Kalimūtugh Shu'arā*, 14.

3. 'Abdul Wahhāb Iftikhār, *Tazkira-e-Benazir*, 39.

4. Husain Qulī Khān, *Nisbat-e-'Ishq*, I, Pp. University Library Ms. No. 1487, f. 2056.

5. Niāz Fatahpurī, *Makūlāt*, I, 119.

دوئی صورت اعتبار است نه معنی اعتقاد و کثرت غبار بیرون در است
نه چراغ خلوت اتحاد

[Otherness is only the form of things, and not the meaning of belief; and plurality is the dust of wilderness and not the lamp of the private apartment of Unity.]

Also, as it is self-evident, he omits verbs in the corresponding sentences. All this shows that Bedil wrote artistic prose, and, as in the case of all other artists, Bedil says in *Chahār 'Unsur* that he underwent severe mental pains to produce his works :

هر نقطه که از خامه ام آید بچکیدن
اشکبست بیانی بره بیتاب دودن
گر داغ نوشتم ز کباب جگری بود
ور آه رقم شد زدی داشت دیدن

[Every dot that is made by my pen
Is a tear anxious to go down the eyelashes.
If I wrote the word 'Scar' it was of my roasted liver,
And if a sigh was written it rose from a heart.]

But when everything has been said in favour of Bedil's prose, this should also be admitted that, if it is to suit all occasions and all needs, the language should not be so ornate.

This was about the diction used by Bedil, but so far as the contents are concerned, he stands all alone. Abul Fazl (d. 1011-1602) employed the whole wealth¹ of his high-sounding constructions and the train-loads of his adjectives to uphold the dignity of Emperor Akbar. Similarly, the florid style of Zuhūrī simply served to gratify the self-esteem of his patron² 'Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. But if Bedil praised anybody in his prose they were saints, whose praise, he believed, was just commentary of the holy Qurān. Moreover, as hinted in *Ma'āṣir-e-'Ajam*,³ Bedil consecrated his skill in writing elegant prose to the exposition of ethical, mystical, and philosophical problems. Also it goes to the everlasting credit of Bedil that, in his *Third 'Unsur*, he has given five specimens of pure literary prose. These factors, therefore, mark a distinct advance in the direction of employing prose for better ends and higher aims. In view of these peculiarities of *Chahār 'Unsur*, it should be classed with the *Kilmīyā-e-Sa'ādāt* of al-Ghazzālī, the *Tazkiratul Auliya* of 'Attār, the *Gulistan* of Sa'di, and the *Nafahāt* of Jāmī. Its style may differ from that of the books mentioned here, but it belongs certainly to their class.

1. Abdul Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature*, 239-243.

2. *Ibid.*, 194.

3. Junaidi, Muhammad 'Azizul Haq, *Ma'āṣir-e-'Ajam*.

2. RUQ'AT-E-BEDIL

As it is clear from the Appendix B, the total number¹ of Bedil's letters is 273. These were written to thirtynine different persons. These include 9 letters whose addressees have not been mentioned. Also some of the letters were written by Bedil on behalf² of other persons. The largest number of letters was written to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons : 93 to the Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 48 to his son Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, 36 to his eldest son Mīr Luṭfullah Shukrullah Khān II, and 15 to his youngest son Mīr Karamulla 'Āqil Khān. The last named died³ young, and hence the number of letters addressed to him is very small, although we know Bedil loved him very much. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī and Qayyūm Khān Fidā'ī, the father and the son, can claim only 10 and 5 letters respectively. The sixth position is enjoyed by Husain Qulī Khān, Khān Daurān. These facts show the extent of Bedil's relations with different persons.

In the letters one comes across confusion⁴ on account of two Shukrullah Khāns and also two 'Āqil Khāns. But it can be easily removed. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I and Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzī both died⁵ in 1103 A.H. (1696-7 A.D.), and hence all the letters, which mention happenings of the later years, could not be addressed to these grandees. Moreover, while addressing these two persons of elevated rank, Bedil is always more respectful. As I have consulted and quoted all the letters every now and then while writing the Life of Bedil, I need not discuss their contents here, but I may add that because of the historical references made by Bedil and the chronograms and dates given by him, and also with the help of additional data available in different Tazkirahs and contemporary chronicles, it is possible to arrange the letters chronologically. A study of this thesis will, I presume to hope, prove very helpful in this connection.

As regards the style of the letters, we have to agree with 'Abdul Ghani, the learned author of the *History of Persian Language and*

1. I have counted the epistles given in the Nawilkishore Edition of *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, lithographed in 1292 A.H. The Editions of Ḥasni and Ahmadi Presses too are similar.

2. *Ruq'at*, Lucknow Edition, pp. 37, 50, 67, 68, 85, 91.

3. Page 137 supra.

4. It is because of this confusion that Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, who has written a book about Bedil, says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed the subedār of Mewāt in 1114 A.H. See Khwāja 'Ibādullah Akhtar, *Bedil*, 14, *Ruq'at-e-Bedil*, Lucknow Edition, 46.

5. Page 115 supra.

Literature at the Mughal Court,¹ that in his *Ruq'āt* Bedil has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity. It may also be mentioned that the objections raised so vehemently by Muhammad Husain Āzād, and quoted by me while discussing the style of *Chahār 'Unsur*, refer chiefly to *Ruq'āt*, because Āzād has cited a letter of Bedil in support of his contentions. It seems probable that it must have been Bedil's obscure style in his *Ruq'āt* which made *Chahār 'Unsur* unpopular. Moreover, there are two letters in the *Ruq'āt*, in which all the words used are dotless. This figure may show Bedil's mastery over language, but it looks frivolous according to the modern taste.

Still the good points in the style of the *Ruq'āt* should not be overlooked. Every time that Bedil finishes a letter he prays in a different way, which is in keeping with its spirit and general contents. Moreover, there are similes, metaphors and novel conceits. Emotive element is also there. The feeling of helplessness and sadness may be observed in the following :

ما بی مائگان از عدم چه آورد و بودیم و از هستی چه خواهیم برد تا بوسه
این و آن غم حاصلی که نداشتیم و نداریم باید خورد -

[What had we poor people brought from nonexistence and what would we take away from the world, that we should feel sorry [for losing what we had not or what we do not have ?]

The philosophical deduction in these sentences has been made simply to console the grieved heart, but the feeling of sadness is so overpowering that philosophy has been suppressed. Another literary peculiarity of the *Ruq'āt* is that at times we come across chaste expressions of the kind we frequently find in *Chahār 'Unsur*. The following sentences may be studied. I have not again given their translation.

شمع تا نظرمی کشاید چشم بر مهر روشن کرده است و موج تا سر بر می آرد
جادو رفتن بمرض آورده -

زندگی بسر آمده چون نسیم در گذشتن ناچار است و پیمانه پر شده چون اشک
در چکیدن بی اختیار -

The letters have many chaste and spontaneous verses also. It was in view of these peculiarities of the letters that at one time people studied them most eagerly.

There are also philosophical statements and literary discussions in the letters, and at one place² Bedil says that in writing Persian the idioms and colloquial language used by the people of Persia must always be kept in view, for in India Persian is not a mother tongue. These things, however, should not detain us here.

1. See p. 287, footnote, of the book.

2. *Ruq'āt*, Lucknow Edition, 127-8.

3. NIKĀT-E-BEDIL

As it is evident from Appendix C, the Nikāt, i.e. the ingenious thoughts of Bedil, are his short and pithy sayings selected mostly from *Chahār 'Unsur*. Their number as well as their subject-matter varies in different editions lithographed in different presses. The *Kulliyāt*, brought out by the *Şafdarī Press*, Bombay, has 70 Nikāt, and every Nukta, i.e. a subtle thought, in prose is generally followed by a Rubā'ī and then either by a *Ghazal* or a *Mukhammas*. The *Nawilkishore Edition* has 69 Nikāt, and their order, and sometimes even their subject-matter, differs from that of the Nikāt in the *Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī*. In addition to this, every Nukta in this edition has the relevant *Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt* printed separately¹ in the abovementioned *Kulliyāt*, and also it does not contain *Mukhammasāt*. There is yet a third edition of the Nikāt, lithographed in the *Ahmadī Press*. This has 76 Nikāt, and, like the *Nawilkishore Edition*, it has *Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt* at their proper places after the Nikāt. This difference, in the number, order, and contents of the Nikāt found in different editions, shows that different manuscript copies of the Nikāt exist, but unfortunately I have not been able to see any.

As remarked by Ivanow² these subtle thoughts have been written in an exceedingly bombastic and very obscure style usually adopted by Bedil when he begins to make some philosophical discussion. Besides sometimes the Nikāt have been made absolutely unintelligible owing to the mistakes made by the calligraphists. For example in Nukta No. 63, in *Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī*, the words غیبت, عبرت, آشنا have been written for غیبت, غیرت, اشیاء. This shows that the calligraphist was ignorant of the philosophical terms used by Bedil. It is, therefore, advisable that the Nikāt should be studied with reference to the context, and this has been made easier by Appendix C.

The Nikāt themselves may not be so tasteful, so far as their wording is concerned; but the Rubā'īs, the *Ghazals*, the *Mukhammasāt*, and the *Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt* they contain, are some of the finest specimens of his art. Almost every Nukta has a *Ghazal* in بحر طویل and we know⁴ how melodious, how fine, how juicy *Ghazals* of this type are. On account of these sweet verses the Nikāt have become very interesting, and we feel encouraged that after the short prosaic

1. It is because of this that I have given them under *Majnavis*.

2. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, under No. 384.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Şafdarī*, Nikāt, 25.

4. Page 200 *supra*. Even Muhammad Husain Azad, who talked slightly of Bedil's prose, praises the metres in the *Nikāt*, unreservedly. See Azad, *Sakhsundān-o-Fāris*, 262.

line or passage of a Nukta we would have the finest blossom of the highest Art.

All the ingenious thoughts and pointed anecdotes refer to religious, moral, and philosophical subjects discussed by the author again and again in his works. In an elaborate discussion of Bedil's thought, these *Nikāṭ* have their place, but when I have already made hints about Bedil's speculations while discussing his different works, I should speak here only about those *Nikāṭ* whose basic thought has so far received scant attention. Although only brief remarks would be made, yet it would be possible to form an idea about the contents of the *Nikāṭ*. I may, however, add, that if a detailed exposition of the *Nikāṭ* is made, it would be found that they comprehend the whole of Bedil's Philosophy.

The first Nukta speaks about *Khaṭrāt*, i.e. the ideas that occur to the heart, and thus it opens the discussion usually made by Muslim thinkers about inspiration, may it be of the saints or that of the prophets. Bedil says that inspiration of the saints and of the prophets is identical in nature, and there is no reason why we should believe the one and disbelieve the other. In a letter¹ to Qāzī 'Abdur Raḥīm,² father of the saint Walī Ullah of Dehlī, Bedil says that the ideas that occur to the hearts of the saints are inspiration direct from God. The ideas of this nature, the *Ṣūfīs* says,³ are of four kinds: the divine, the angelic, the sensuous, and the devilish, but Bedil talks only about the first kind. Having once begun the topic, he reverts to it again and again in the *Nikāṭ*. He says⁴ that the prophets on receiving such an experience compare and contrast it with the conditions prevailing in the world, and if the experience is of unquestionable utility for mankind, they translate it into action. This is not, however, the case with other people. They act at the first impulse, without weighing the pros and cons of the *Khaṭrāt* of their hearts, however defective or full of dangerous implications they may be. Further,⁵ Bedil compares the knowledge attained by this spiritual organ, i.e. Mind, with that got by sense-perception. He says that even the iota of knowledge gained in this way is imperishable, while volumes of learning gathered otherwise will certainly go to wrack and ruin. In addition to this, he asserts, by acquiring knowledge through intuitive experience of this kind, we would be saved from the ignominy of aping⁶ others, and would thus store our

1. *Ruq'ār*, Lucknow Edition, 112.

2. Page 150 *supra*.

3. Thānvī, Muḥammad 'Alī, *Kaṭṭāf-e-Ishlāḥāt*, I, 415.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Nikāṭ*, Nukta No. 13, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 35, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, Nuktas Nos. 8, 19, pp. 4, 8.

minds with something absolutely original. Bedil, therefore, suggests that we should constantly take resort to seclusion for contemplation and studying the heart, i.e. Mind. At another place in the *Nikāt* he says that this regard for the heart means¹ self-study and ruminations about Reality. He warns that, while doing so, day-dreaming should be avoided, and Reality should be invariably kept in view. He also adds that if a man continues² contemplation in this way, one day he arrives at the Truth and becomes one with it. At that time duality disappears and Unity is established.³ But although every heart has latent capacity for getting this unitive experience, it must be purified⁴ by self-mortification, and then alone its innate powers would be actualised. Only after purification the heart would be able to receive inspiration in its purest form. But here Bedil again warns that self-mortification should not be carried beyond the proper limits, for the prophets, who left a model for all, had recourse to it only so far as it was necessary for the purification of the soul. He also maintains⁵ that for an even growth of personality cogitation and spiritual development should accompany cultivation of physical powers.

This is a brief account of some of the topics connected with *Khayrāt*. As we have no space to talk about other subjects discussed in *Nikāt* we should take up the next prose-work of Bedil.

4. BIĀZ-E-BEDIL

It is a Persian anthology compiled by Mīrzā Bedil. Only two copies of this anthology are extant in the world and those too in the British Museum, London. Dr. Rieu has given a brief description⁷ of the contents of the *Biāz* in the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, and the following account has been taken from there.

The anthology contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of *Khāqānī* to the author's time, classed according to the various styles of poetical composition, and arranged, in each class, in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. Poems written by different authors in the same measure and with the same rhyme are grouped together. The names of the poets are given in versified headings like the following:

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Nikāt*, Nukta No. 38, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 7, p. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 40, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 32, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 6, p. 3.

6. *Ibid.*, Nukta No. 4, p. 3.

7. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, (s. 737a-738b).

بادشاه مرير معنى اسير and معراج سخن كلام قدسى

The two uniform volumes of the *Blāz* have 429 and 453 folios, which have been written in fair *Shikasta āmiz* and dated Lahore, Zulqa'da A.H. 1152 and Muharram A.H. 1153 (A.D. 1740). In the beginning there are *Qasīdahs*, *Ghazals*, *Mu'ammās* or riddles, *Rubā'īs*, *Mustazād*, and short pieces in *Maṣnavī* rhyme. There are longer *Maṣnavīs* by the following poets :

1. Salim, Muḥammad Qulī, a native of Tehran.
2. Ashraf, Muḥammad Sa'īd, of Māzandran, instructor of Zibun Nisa, and a favourite of Bahādur Shāh.
3. Mīr Yahyā—a native of Kashan, who came to India, wrote a *Shāhnāma* for Shāh Jahān and puns in praise of Dārā Shikoh, died A.H. 1074.
4. Hakīm Ruknā.
5. Tālib Amulī.

These *Maṣnavīs* are followed by *Mukhammasāt*, and *Maṣnavīs* descriptive of female beauty by Mīrzā Bedil and *Maṣnavīs* on moral subject by the same. Then there are letters and other compositions in prose by Bedil and other writers, *Musaddasāt*, Riddles in prose, and versified chronograms relating chiefly to the death of poets and brought down to A.H. 1121. After this there is a tale of a simple-minded Brahman and the wiles of his artful wife in prose.

The margins contain, besides some additional short poems, the following pieces :

1. زادالعارفين—a tract in six bābs, ascribed to the celebrated ṣūfī, Khwājā 'Abdullah Anṣārī.
2. هيدالاحد وحدت لطائف—Ingenious observations by هيدالاحد وحدت.
3. نصائح ومواعظ—'Counsels and exhortations' by Naḥshabī.
4. معراج خيال—an erotic poem by Tajallī, Mullā 'Alī Razā, a native of Ardakān, province of Yazd, stayed sometime in India, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and the later part of his life under Shāh 'Abbās II and Sulaimān, in his native land, where he died in A.H. 1098.
5. مباحثه کونکار و تمباکو—a contest between poppy and tobacco—a *Maṣnavī* by Mujrim.
6. Letter of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī to Irādat Khān Wāẓih.
7. نقلات بزرگان—anecdotes of the great.
8. Extracts from رساله جشن حسن و عشق by the same Ni'mat Khān.
9. گلشن راز—a 'Tarjī' by 'Urfī and other poems of the same kind.

As it is apparent from the above description it is a very important *Blāz*, particularly for the information that it gives about the

contemporary poets of the author, and, therefore, every library in the East must possess its copy. As I have made remarks about its contents here and there in this work, I need not make further comments.

5. Prefaces

Some of Bedil's works have prefaces in prose and it is, therefore, desirable to make brief references to them.

I. *Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam's Preface*. After the usual doxologies Bedil says that the poem is not like the *Sāqīnāma* of Zuhūrī, but it is a "Tavern for disclosing Truths." He also says that the poets² like Hūlālī, Zulālī, Sālik, Ṭālib, Šāmit and *Shaidā* cannot apprehend its contents, and only those who possess ripe judgment like Salīm and Šāib would be able to form an estimate of its value.

II. *That of the Old Diwān*³: It has also been mentioned⁴ in the catalogues of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office and Bankipur Libraries. It is a very eloquent preface and shows the author's diction and thought at their best. The following verse gives an inkling of the acute pains suffered by the author, to produce something really remarkable, while praising God:

گل از گلزار حمد او کسی چید که چون زخم از لب خون بسته نالید

[Only that person can pick flowers from the garden of His praise

Who wept like the wound with blood-stained lips.]

Similarly, his eulogy of the holy Prophet, both in prose and verse, wins the reader's approval. The following two verses may be studied:

نام او بردند اسمای قدم آمد بحرف از لب اودم زدند آیات قرآن ریختند
از جمالش صورت عالم ازل بستند نقش وز کمالش معنی تحقیق السان ریختند

[When his name was mentioned the eternal names reached the tip of the tongue.

A talk was made about his lips and verses of the holy Qurān were produced.

By his beauty the painting of the knowledge of eternity was prepared.

And by his accomplishments the meaning of Man's Truth was made known.]

The author says that the contents of the *Diwān* are mostly the result of his early attempts at verse-making, and naturally in some cases, there must be some flabbiness of language, but he has included all

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Muḥīṭ-e-A'zam*, 2-3.

2. For these poets see pages 46-7 *supra*.

3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, the first three pages.

4. Under Ms. No. 1676, Vol. I and No. 381, Vol. III, respectively.

such verses because everyone knows "the clear sweet waters are under the rough turbulent waves."

III. *That of the Ruq'āt.*¹ All the different editions of the *Ruq'āt* contain the perface, but the *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī* gives much additional material. At first there is a preface to an unknown book. It appears it was some treatise about mysticism, and most probably it was the collection of the sayings of mystics, prepared by Bedil at the suggestion of *Shāh-e-Qāsim*. After this a few sentences have been given to preserve the memory of a Maktab, named *زاوید عزیزیه*, established near the tomb of Bedil's teacher, 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Izzat, in 1092, and the chronogram is : *مقام فضلا*. The third is a preface to a treatise about Geomancy, compiled by Bedil, when he found that all the valuable extant books, about this science, had been spoiled by the mistakes, in calligraphy, made by the calligraphists. The fourth is the preface to the *Ruq'āt* proper and has nothing mentionable.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Ruq'āt*, 2-4.

CHAPTER VIII

Bedil's Personality and Poetic Genius

BEDIL was born in Patna towards the half of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, when Shāh Jahān, the owner of the Peacock Throne, was ruling in India. Those were glorious prosperous times, with perfect peace in the land. Trade and industry thrived, and various arts developed, independently as well as under court patronage. It was also a flowering period for science and literature and in the chronicles of the times we come across several distinguished men of learning and various gifted writers and poets. Moreover, the place, where the talented child was born, had not only the traditions of being in the vicinity of Nalanda, the famous seat of Buddhist learning during the Middle Ages, but also it was in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, at one time the capital of the Sharqi Kings, and in the days of Shāh Jahān known solely for being a great educational centre where different sciences of the Muslims flourished. In view of all this Patna had come to enjoy those blessings of economic prosperity and cultural development which the times could bestow.¹ Thus the environments in which Bedil found himself at his birth were such that, with his expanding energies, he could grow loftiness of mind and sharpness of intellect.

Bedil traced his descent from the Mughal race and his ancestors were soldiers. His uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar (under whose care he was brought up after the death of his parents), was known for his prowess and skill in military tactics; and, of course, Bedil too began to take interest in physical culture from his very childhood. When, on account of the illness of Shāh Jahān, the war of succession broke out in 1657 A.D., the wiry child, who was yet at the beginning of his teens, went away with the armies of Prince Shujā' and saw the action. After this, all through his life, this descendant of the brave hardy Mughals was taking exercise regularly to maintain robust health. He

1. For the purposes of this paragraph chapter I of this work may be studied anew.

had a race with a horse at Patna and won it. He used to wrestle with a stout steed he kept for the purpose. And, once, when in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, he killed a lion single-handed. In this respect he does not stand as the unique figure in his age. There are many other persons of his times who are known for their bravery and feats of valour. Aurangzib himself, in whose prolonged reign Bedil passed about fifty years of his life, was a most valiant person. He conducted the siege of eight forts in person¹ in his extreme old age and put his generals to wonder. It was also this age which produced brave generals like Zulifqār Khān, the conqueror² of Jinji, and Husain 'Alī Khān, the Barhā Sayyid. Our poet's physical strength and his courage, therefore, fit in with the traits of similar nature found among his contemporaries.

But, in spite of his physical fitness, Bedil did not take up the calling of his ancestors. He was a soldier for a very brief period and then tendered his resignation to lead the life of a darwish. In doing so he was prompted by the example of his father, Mīrzā 'Abdul Khālīq, who renounced the world at a very early age and lived the life of a mystic. Bedil's uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, too was a mystic. Thus from his childhood Bedil found that the atmosphere around him was charged with mysticism. These influences were further strengthened when the sensitive boy came in contact with the pious, loving, and learned mystics living in Bihar in those days. In this way Bedil developed an emotional attachment for the Real Being, and the roots of that sentiment went deep down into his soul, which had to direct his energies throughout his life. This sentiment of love for the Absolute Reality was also reinforced by the happenings of the four successive bloody wars, which were fought during his life for the Peacock Throne, and which wars did not spare even the Emperors, the Princes, and the Chief Ministers. Bedil's early contact with learned mystics gave also a philosophic basis to his mystical tendencies and he was introduced to Metaphysics. To this knowledge he made addition by his study of al-Ghazzālī, Ibaul-'Arabī, Rūmī, and al-Mujaddid. Thus his mysticism went on growing in emotion and thought with his advancing years.

Bedil's racial characteristics had made his personality dynamic, and, although he had adopted mysticism as his creed, which in many cases leads to a stationary life, he used to roam about freely in the Indo-Gangetic plain. While in Bihar he kept marching for some time with the armies of Shujā'; and, with his uncles, he went to Rānī

1. N. J. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 319.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

Sāgar, Ārā, Mehsī, Cuttak and Kesari. When he had left the provinces of Bihar and Orissa he kept moving for full twenty years between Dehli, Akbarābād, and Mathura, and even paid a visit to the Panjab and reached as far as Hasan Abdāl near Attock. When he had finally settled in Dehli, after 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.), he went to Bairāt, although the Jats were rioting there and journeys were absolutely unsafe. And his last journey was again to the Panjab when he was about seventy-seven years old. He had to go there to seek refuge with Nawāb 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, against the Sayyid Brothers who wanted his life. On account of his constant travels, therefore, he came to have personal experience of all situations. He came across people of all shades of opinion, following different trades and professions, and had intimate conversation with them. He met high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, and developed sincere relations with them. He experienced hardships of war and tasted the fruits of peace. He saw landscapes of all varieties and stored his mind with all that those scenes stood for. In this way Bedil came to possess extraordinarily rich experience of all kinds.

The impression made by the personality of this middle-sized, broad-shouldered Mughal, with a handsome face, was unique. When at the age of twenty-one years he left Bihar and came to Dehli, he was quite unknown and absolutely friendless. But before he was twenty-six years old he had found access to the upper ranks of the society in the Metropolis, and was honoured and respected. 'Āqil Khān Rāzi and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, two peers of Aurangzib, held the young mystic in high esteem, and so long as they were alive their reverential regards for him went on multiplying. Before Bedil had joined the Army and he held any maṇṣab, Izad Bakhsh Rasā, a contemporary poet, met him, and he expressed the effect made by Bedil's personality in this way :

بیدل همه دل را دیدم

[I saw Bedil who is all heart.]

This shows that Bedil's profound love for God, the deep emotions with which he spoke, and the thoughtful expression he employed influenced all who came in contact with him.

The effect of his personality was heightened by his character. High thinking, of an independent nature, with wide sympathies, he lived a simple life. He prized purity of morals above anything else, and when on one occasion he found that the son of a barber, whom he loved, had taken to things unseemly, he slapped the boy angrily,

and he died at the spot. Except for the one occasion when he took part in a convivial¹ meeting in Rani Sagar, when he was in his teens, everything on record² proves that he was a perfect teetotaler, and we cannot imagine that a person who lived up to his ideals could show self-indulgence of any kind. Riches, mansabs, jāgīrs, and a life of pomp and glory were not relished by him. On the other hand, he loved the life of a darwīsh—a humble mystic devoted to God, and hence a poor man was as near to his heart as a member of the nobility. He did not feel elated when the Mughal and their chief ministers showered their regards on him; and he did not think he was humbled when he associated with the low. He had a warm corner for all, a kind word for every one, and benevolent smiles for all and sundry. It was because of his noble character and personal magnetism that his house, in Dehli, was the common resort of high and low, rich and poor, elite and humble. He stood for justice and whenever some trying situation arose he sided with the oppressed. This shows that he was a first-class humanist, and in this respect he stands all alone in his age.

He had no prejudices and was magnanimous and generous. He had many Hindus as his pupils and held them very dear. They too reciprocated his feelings, and Bindrāban Dās Khushgū and Anand Rām Mukhlis, in particular, speak about him most respectfully. As regards his generosity, once a trader from Kābul brought pomegranates and almost all of them were spoiled. He brought the few, that did not rot, to Bedil and related his sad tale. At once Bedil wrote the following couplet to Nawāb Luṭfullah Khān, the eldest son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān :

بخید کفشم اگر دندان نما شد عیب نیست
خنده دارد چرخ هم بر هر زه گردبهای من

[It matters little if the stitches of my shoes have opened out.

Even the Heaven mocks at my wandering about in this way.]

The Nawāb thought that Bedil's shoes had worn away and he wanted money. It was a golden opportunity to render a bit of service to the grand darwīsh, and the Nawāb, therefore, sent Rs. 100,000, which Bedil gave immediately to the trader.³ On another occasion when Mīr Karamullah Khān needed money, Bedil sent him 200 gold⁴ coins which Nawāb Zulifqār Khān had presented to him.

1. Page 32 *supra*.

2. Khushgū says that Bedil used Hashish, but the evidence is too meagre. See page 131 *supra*.

3. Āzād, Muḥammad Ḥusain, *Nigāristān-e-Fāris*, p. 180.

4. Page 137 *supra*.

As head of the family he was kind and affectionate. When his son 'Abdul Khāliq was born, he was overjoyed, and found out various chronograms for the happy occasion. He communicated the good news to Nawāb Luṭfullāh Khān, who was then away in the Deccan fighting against Kān Bakhsh. And when unfortunately the boy died, he expressed his bitter grief in a most pathetic elegy. His dealings with his relatives were also full of affection. How anxiously he waited for letters from his cousin Mīrzā 'Ibādullāh, and how pleased he felt whenever there was any prospect of meeting him! Bedil was on very intimate terms with his friends too. All of us know, his attachment to Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān and his family was most sincere. Even the children of the family were impressed by Bedil's affability and played with his pen and inkpot even though he was writing. When they were away with their parents, he expressed his love for them in letters with a throbbing heart.

But a person who loved so passionately also hated vehemently whenever there was something unpleasant. A courageous man as Bedil was, he expressed his dislikes quite fearlessly. But these feelings of contempt were never based on malice or selfish motives. As a high-minded person he disliked only those persons who were led away from the path of justice, reason or virtue. This shows that his feelings of hatred only guarded his comprehensive sentiment of purity. His negation of unworthy practices was only an affirmation of worthy ideals.

From his very childhood our poet was given to contemplation. His uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, asked him to leave the Maktab and to study Persian works of master-writers at home. This was the first step towards developing a contemplative mood in the boy. Then he came in contact with mystics who always advised him to look towards his "heart"—i.e. his self which is the source of all intuitive experience. In Dehli he gained the friendship of Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzi and Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān, who were both mystics, and thus Bedil's tendency for looking into the "heart" was all the more strengthened. Khushgū has said that Bedil remained indoors throughout the day, contemplating and writing his thoughts in verse.

Bedil had his lighter moments also. He was fond of music and at times he enjoyed the sweet tunes of the musical instruments. There is a letter¹ in which he has asked his friend one Mīrzā Fazāl to send a Persian violin. Also in his meetings in the evening he passed some time in a humorous mood. Again, whenever his pupil 'Atā came to

1. *Ruq'at-g-Bedil*, Nawilkishore Edition, 121.

2. *Ibid.*, 90.

see him, he used to recite his facetious verses, and felt very much pleased. This goes to prove that, in spite of his high ideals and noble living, Bedil too, like us, needed "salt" to make his life tasteful.

A few brief remarks have been made above about the personality of Bedil. Now we should discuss his poetic genius. I may say at the outset that, in this connection, we are guided to a great extent by Bedil himself, for he is in the habit of making hints about his diction, creative experience, and creative process, etc. The basic fact about the relation that subsists between the poet and his verse has been admirably stated by him in this hemistich :

گره کشائی سخنور سخن برد بیدل

[Bedil, the verse unveils the poet.]

According to Bedil, therefore, the personality of a poet is reflected in his poetical compositions. Now if we want to understand Bedil we must study his works minutely. It will not be possible, however, to do full justice to this most important side of our studies at present, still some observations are made to point out the fundamental things in this connection.

At the age of ten Bedil composed a quatrain about the fragrance breathed by a class-fellow. It was a chance utterance, but this revealed to him that he had innate capacities for versification. He had discovered a great fact, and he began to repeat deliberately the triumph he had attained in the beginning quite accidentally. Even the verses he composed in those days were not of a mean order. It means he was one of those rare individuals who have exceptional sensibility and expressive skill. The mystics, under whose influence he lived in his childhood in Bihar and Orissa, gave him not only the sentiment for mysticism, which was the source of his inspiration, but also improved his expressive skill. We know the highest point in the development of this sentiment was reached, when in Dehli, in 1076 A.H. (1665-6 A.D.) Bedil met Shāh-e-Kābulī, who repeated, while awake, the verse which Bedil had heard in a dream in Orissa, when his love for the Ultimate Reality had grown overpowering. Thenceforward Bedil was fully confident about the attitude he had adopted in life, and this confidence contributed to the power in his expression.

But still these things were not enough to make Bedil a great poet—a poet who transcends all ages. He was yet in need of some inner urge to speak, without which every composition is lifeless. Bedil wrote his first *Masnavi*, i.e. *Muhīṭ-A'zam* in 1078 A.H. (1667-8 A.D.). If we go through this poem, we find that the innermost springs of the poet's life have been perturbed and consequently his

diction is full of vitality and power. The key to this state of Bedil's feelings is the question posed by him in the following verse :

اگر عالم این است آدم کیاست اگر هست آدم بهالم کیاست

[If this is the world, where is Man ?

If Man is in the world, where is He ?]

One concludes from this verse that the young mystic was painfully disgusted with the conditions prevailing around him. He liked to see the Man of his ideals, but he was nowhere to be seen. Bedil had been in Delhi, the capital of the Moghal Emperors, for about three years, and he had sorrowfully observed that the society in the metropolis had degenerated miserably. There was before him only the prospect of decadence. He was dissatisfied with the contemporary poets, because there was no reality or nobility in their feelings, and they rejoiced only in employing conventional diction. He was displeased with the religious people because they were not sincere to their faith. And he was disturbed to see that aristocracy, the ruling clique, was cruel and unjust. He said in the poem :

ز دوران گیتی دلم ساده نیست ز عدلش عنان عبرت داده نیست

[My heart is not free from the vestiges of Time,

And there are no reins to guide it to the path of justice.]

به نیرنگ عدلش نظرها بر آب زبیداد ظلمش جگرها کیاب

[Through the artfulness of its justice the eyes are wet, and

On account of its oppressive cruelty souls are burning.]

He was disillusioned. As he was a new-comer in the metropolis, its conditions had offered him a striking contrast. It was this prospect of universal frustration that goaded him to try to reconstruct his society. Consequently, all through his life he was trying most ardently to give a comprehensive philosophy of life to his contemporaries.

Bedil had in this way got a theme for his poetical compositions, and in the development of this theme his early apprenticeship as a mystic and the disappointing ways of his contemporaries had both an equal share. The one accumulated the powder and the other ignited it. He thought as if he had been commissioned to restore Man to his pristine glory of thought and conduct. He, therefore, devoted the whole courage of his convictions, the whole power of his expression, and all the wealth of his metaphysical knowledge to persuade Man to fulfil his destiny in the world. He had to call Man back to God. He had to tell him that, after God, he was the only being who counted in the whole of the universe. He advanced all sorts of arguments. He quoted verses from the Holy Qurān and the

1. See particularly the preface of *Muḥṣul-i-Āzam*.

sayings of the holy Prophet. He cited the views of various thinkers—Muslims as well as non-Muslims. And he appealed to commonsense. It was indeed a gigantic enterprise. The theme which he had adopted was no doubt the noblest a poet could dream of. His early training as a mystic had taught him to look more and more to intuitive experience, and, therefore, when he was called upon to address mankind he addressed out of the fulness of his heart. This shows how our poet expressed the noblest of themes in the sublimest diction.

A high theme is worthy of high language. But language of this sort is not given readymade to the poet. He invents it. No doubt, in language and style he is indebted to his predecessors, yet as his personality and his thoughts are quite distinct, he evolves quite a different diction. In a state of inspiration, when the poet is going through creative experience, he feels that the former associations and combinations of words do not suit the shades of meaning or the modes of feeling he wants to express. He, therefore, coins new words, of necessary expressive quality, and assigns them new places with other words. This shows that the words rise from the idea which the poet wants to express. Bedil says:

اصل معنیست کز تقاضائش لفظ می بالاد و ادامائش
[The real thing is the meaning, because of whose (natural) requirements

The word and its peculiarities evolve.]

Only a writer of high standing could have expressed the theory of style, and the cause of a poet's predilection for particular words, in so skilful a manner as Bedil has done in this couplet. This explains how Bedil, as a great poet, gave a rich vocabulary to Persian language.

At this stage it must be reaffirmed that, for the freshness of expression, the necessary prerequisite is not a new idea. All that is implied in the above paragraph is this that if a poet expresses those thoughts, which he has lived through, then his Art is inevitably endowed with the characteristic of freshness. We know Bedil studied the philosophies of the mystics and other thinkers, and on comparison we find that *basically* no new addition has been made by him, but, as because of mystical experience all those thoughts have been saturated with emotions, he was able to express them in a most poetical way. Also Bedil expressed mostly those sensations, emotions, and thoughts which he had gained as a result of his actual acquaintance with life, i.e. actual experience of the world in its varied aspects. All this was fresh, and, therefore, he expressed it in a style overflowing with fresh, limpid diction.

To resume our discussion. In his quest for suitable words, most often Bedil finds out the predestined word for a thought, and uses it so adroitly that the thought becomes his special property. In his poem *ʿIrfān*, when Bedil talks about Adam's fall from the heaven, he writes the following verse :

چون دریں تیره خاکدان افتاد آنانی ز آسمان افتاد

[When he fell into this dark earthly dungeon,

It was a sun which came down from the skies.]

The vivid and visual words used so effectively have made this thought a property of Bedil. The metaphor is so apt that it cannot be replaced. The thought and its expression have become the life-blood of each other.

Bedil is fully aware of the final relation that is established between form and substance. He remarks that as spring means colour and fragrance brought inextricably together, expression and thought are also similarly interrelated. He says :

زربز صورت و معنی دل خود جمع کن بیدل

بهار اینست سامانش درون بونی برون رنگی

[Bedil, soothe your heart with regard to the secret of form and meaning.

Here is the advent of spring, sweet smell within and charming colour without.]

It was like uniting the soul and body—giving a beautiful thought a beautiful form. Bedil followed this principle of style all through his life and his use of appropriate similes and metaphors was also determined by it. Similarly, his metres are also in keeping with the general spirit of his thoughts. They have the peculiarity of naturalness. They are the natural tone of the mood of the poet. For example the metre of the following verse expresses sadness—the mood which predominated while writing the poem :

چیست این باغ و این شگفتنمها سر آبی و میر روغنمها

[What is this garden and its blossoming?

Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

In this way Bedil employs metres which suit his different moods. Thus, in Bedil, as he himself says, the thought and its expression, i.e. the words, similes, metaphors, and metres in which the thoughts are couched, all grow and develop spontaneously.

We observe vigour and force also in Bedil's style. This vitality is the result of various causes. His firm convictions and his sublime theme are the two factors, hints about which have already been made. But there is another fundamental ingredient of the poet's spirit which should not be overlooked in this connection. It is his

masculinity. His race, the traditions of his family, and his personal courage had made his mind very masculine, and this peculiarity quite naturally found its way into his diction. In addition to this Bedil has used various artifices for making his style vigorous and emphatic. An account of such like artifices was made while enumerating the literary peculiarities of Bedil's *Ghazals*. I may add at this place that Bedil is very fond of repeating the same word for this purpose. In the *Musnawī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, he tells Man that he is an enigma waiting for solution, and uses the artifice of repetition of words to lend force to his statement :

معنائی . معنائی . معما اگر خواهی کشودن چشم بکشا

[You are an enigma, an enigma, an enigma.

If you like to solve it, open your eyes.]

Here the 'm' sound itself is very emphatic, and stress on the word *معنا* has been laid in the first hemistich with the object of drawing pointed attention to what is being said in the second. A large number of similar verses can be quoted.

We have considered so far how Bedil's expression came to have life and power. We have yet to find out how he was poetically inspired while writing his poems. With a view to this we must consider the circumstances in which Bedil wrote his poems. He wrote his *Tilism-e-Hairat* in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), and there he has told how the central idea of the poem developed in his mind. One night he lay awake and tried to find out a motif, until an idea occurred, but it was not so vivid in the beginning. He focussed it and grew imaginative. This visualisation moved him, and very soon he was charged with inspiration. We find here that concentration was the cause of creative experience. Now we turn to another type of poetic inspiration. Bedil went to Bairāt with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and he was so much impressed by the scenery of the place that this beautiful *Masnavī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* was the result. In the case of this poem we find that the creative urge was the outcome of influences received from without. There are many more poems, of this nature, which Bedil wrote, when he had seen some scene or read some poem or verse of another poet. If we study Bedil's poems one by one we find that inspiration was either the result of reflection or that of the impact of some outward object or event upon the personality of the poet, and he was moved to supreme poetical activity. But as the poet's personality was coherent his principal theme remained unaltered.

I give below two verses of Bedil which refer to the two distinctive processes pointed out in the foregoing paragraph, The first is :

شب بهتاب ذوق گریه دارد فیضها بیدل
کدامین بیخبر روغن ندارد از چنین شیرینی

[In a moonlit night our relish for weeping has abundant food,

Is there some ignorant person who will not get oil (ghce) from such like milk.]

This emphasises the objective nature of creative inspiration. The second verse is :

گر همه بر خاک پیچد عشق حسن آرد برون
کوشش فرهاد آخر کرد شیرین سنگ را

[Love may roll always on earth. It will still create Beauty.

The untiring efforts of Farhād ultimately turned the stone into *Shirīn* (شیرین—his beloved.)]

This refers to the subjective element in all artistic creations. It will be noted that Bedil did not contribute to any particular view, but he realised the significance of both objective and subjective origin of Art.

Having reached here we are in a position to visualise Bedil's creative process, hints about which have been made by the poet himself here and there in his works.¹ A certain incident, or a poem, or a verse, or some thought has caused a tinkling, shivering feeling to run through his body, and his imagination has been set ablaze. He is expressing the genuine and real feelings through which he is passing at the time. The feelings may be of joy or sorrow, he is experiencing the consequent pleasure or pain. The thought is developing as the poem grows. He has to find adequate phraseology, and then the ideas are so numerous, rather infinite, that they cannot be contained in finite words. And sometimes the pen-picture, he wants to draw, is too ideal to take the form of words, and he says painfully :

بیدل بیاد سرو تو در خون طپید لیک
موزون نگشت یک الف از مشق آم او

[In his longing for your cypress-like stature Bedil rolled in blood,

But by his constant practice in sighing he could not produce a single lovely Alaf.]

So long as these creative pangs continue, he has no rest, and when the experience is over, his poem is also complete.

We have seen how Bedil's poems came into being. He speaks from a bleeding heart and, therefore, his poems must move others.

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī*, *Tilism-e-Hairāt*, 8 ; *Tūr-e-Ma'rifat*, 2 ; *Chahār 'Unsur*,

بیدل خونیں جگر میں بلبل بی بال و پر
 لیست دریں غمگدہا نالہ من بی اثری

[Bedil! my liver is bleeding. I am a nightingale without wings and feathers.

Hence my groans cannot fail to move the people in this distressed world.]

But to appreciate his poems one must approach them with a sympathetic heart :

تب و تابِ اشک چکیدہ ام کہ رسد بمعنی راز من
 ز شکست شیشہ دل مگر شنوی حدیث گداز من

[My agitation is that of a dropped tear.

Who can reach the depth of my secret ?

Perhaps by having a broken heart

You might understand my woeful tale.]

These are Bedil's confessions. After studying them try to imagine the anguish through which the poet passed during his life. His was indeed a most afflicted soul.

The origin of a poem displays the emotive and imaginative powers of a poet, and its structural characteristics show the synthetic side of his mind—it shows how his mind developed a poem into a harmonious whole. Persian lyrics are rarely the result of consistent thought, and there unity is generally maintained by the measure and rhyme. Bedil's lyrics are not an exception to the rule, although he has got a large number of such lyrics in which this defect has been avoided. His *Rubā'is*, fragments, panegyrics, and quintets (مخمصات), like those of the other Persian poets, express individually an uninterrupted mood or inspiration. His *Tarkīb Band* is a loose poem, while the *Tarjī Band* is perfectly coherent—the unifying element lying in the idea contained in the recurring verse (ترجیع).

But these were comparatively shorter poems. Difficulty arises with the longer ones, i.e. the *Maṣnavīs*, where so many emotional moods are to be strung together. If a poet succeeds there, he is fit to be called a major¹ poet. Bedil's first *Maṣnavī* is *Muḥīl-e-A'zam* which he wrote in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.), at the age of twentyfour. As it was the poet's maiden attempt its plot is not so unified, but as the poem progresses one feels the presence of an unexpressed cohesion because of unity of thought and similarity of emotion. His *Ilism-i-Hairat* was written two years later. Being an allegory, this poem is a perfect model of harmony and concord. Interest is kept alive by action, dialogue, and visual imagery. The third long poem of Bedil is *Tūr-e-Ma'arifat* which was

1. Cf. Read, *Collected Essays*, 57. "The distinction between a major and a minor poet is the capacity to write a long poem successfully."

written towards the end of the eleventh century of Hijra. As the poet says at the end of the poem :

خیالی را بهاری نقش بستم

[I painted spring out of a thought]

he conceived an idea on seeing the charming scenery of Bairāt, and this poem, which is a nice specimen of natural poetry, came into being. It is well knit and describes a simple emotional mode though the result is picturesque and rich in details. The last and the longest poem of Bedil is the *Masnavi 'Irfān* which was completed in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). In fact, it has two *Masnavīs* : *Mirātulāh* (The Divine Mirror) and the '*Irfān* proper. The former is more philosophical and less poetical. It is informative and conceptual, and is devoid of action or illustrative stories. The poet has tried to introduce imagery at various places, but as the theme of the poem is the "Cycle of Descent and Ascent"—a most abstruse theme, it makes very tedious reading. The poem, therefore, has coherence but at the cost of poetical element. '*Irfān* proper is the longest and best poem of Bedil. Like a panorama, it unrolls a number of fascinating scenes, many stories of abiding interest, diverse characters full of life and individuality, and different kinds of poetry : natural, romantic, epic, and philosophical. It is, besides, most poetical and least philosophical. The form and the thought balance each other beautifully, and at times the expression is marvellous in point of depth and clearness of thought, intensity of emotions, and economy of words. The poet is in fact at his best in this poem. It was really extremely difficult to create unity in this diversity but the poet succeeded by sticking to the dominating idea—a story in the form of a dialogue which more often changes into a lively discourse. A study of the structure of all these poems has shown that Bedil ranks among Firdausī, Rūmī, Nizāmī, and other major¹ Persian poets who were very successful in writing longer poems.

In the preceding paragraph a reference was made to the different kinds of poetry found in Bedil's *Masnavi 'Irfān*. I must tell a basic thing about all these kinds of Bedil's verse. Before doing so, however, I like to emphasise the point that Bedil not only loved and described the beautiful scenes he saw while journeying about, but also he loved the country in which he found them. India, a land of light,¹ colour and scent, has received unqualified praise from him. He likes its betel-leaves also, and has described them beautifully at various places.

Now the basic point about Bedil's poetical compositions. If we go through his works, from one end to the other, we find that his poems are permeated with his philosophical thought. While speaking about his *Masnawī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* I have already¹ shown how Bedil's belief about Man being the epitome of creation runs as an under-current in the poem. Taking our cue from these remarks, if we study Bedil's *Ghazals* or his *Qasidas*, etc., we will find that the same belief is reflected in so many other verses.² Similarly, when Bedil says, "We see only the charms of Man in the Moon, the stars, the brilliant twilight, and in the colourful rainbow and the beautiful rose-garden," we should not conclude it is mere sentimentalism, but we must know Bedil, the thinker, is telling that Man is the spirit³ whence all things have their origin. In Bedil's works there is an overwhelmingly large number of verses which only a philosopher habituated to thought could write. We see that the background of his words consists of considered process of thought; and his epithets and metaphors, though highly poetical, are in reality related to his philosophy. The first two pages of the *Masnawī 'Irfān*, and his *Qasida*,⁴ in which Man has been addressed, may be studied for this purpose. It will be found that Bedil's rhetoric is very powerful, and a closer study would show at the same time that it is compact with thought. We may, therefore, read any type of Bedil's verse, we are sure to find the poet-philosopher lurking there.

As *Khushgū* and S.A. Vahid have remarked⁵, it goes to Bedil's credit that he expressed the abstract thought of Ibn al-'Arabī and other writers of his type, in an extremely poetical way, using all the elegant expression of the *Tāzīgū* poets. Bedil's art is, therefore, a most coherent system of thought expressed in a most elegant way. It is clear that Bedil made a great experiment in Persian literature. He fused mystical thought, philosophical speculations, and sweetness of expression in such a way that they became

1. Page 274 supra.

2. For example study the following verses:

دل هر قطره گردا بیست خواص حقینت را
تامل درین هر سو گره صد بار می بیند
خیال آشفتنی تحمل اگر شود صرف یک تامل
دل غباری و صد چمن گل نگه موری و صد چراغان

These poetical expressions have at their bottom the idea that Man is a microcosmos in appearance but a macrocosmos in essence.

3. Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, 198.

4. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, Qasaid*.

5. *Khushgū*, in *Ma'arif*, May, 1942; Vahid, S.A., *Iqbāl, His Art, and Thought*, 194.

vital for one another. As such Bedil belongs to that class of poets who have earned everlasting¹ fame for expressing philosophical thoughts in a most poetical way.

This basic point about Bedil's verse discloses his attitude towards Art also. He was not one of those poets whose main object is Art itself. He used his skill in writing poetry for the attainment of a nobler object which lay beyond Art. His contemporary² poets, who were proud of their Tāzagūī, looked simply to niceties of expression, but Bedil had something else in view. He said:

عرض مطلب دیگر و اظهار صنعت دیگرست
بیدل از آئینه نتوان ساخت وضع جام را

[To secure expression of thoughts is something else, but to make a display of skill is totally different.

O Bedil, it is impossible to design a cup from a mirror.]

He wanted that his Art should serve him only in expressing his thoughts, or, according to him, "communication is style." He had a mission in life—a mission to regenerate mankind, and he wished that Art must be subservient to it. Other poets wrote panegyrics of the Emperors and princes, and expressed therein their false feelings. But Bedil did not like to be false to himself. He expressed only his genuine feelings in everything he wrote, and, therefore, he called himself a poet who would eulogise only his nature. He wrote neither the encomiums of the monarchs, nor he worshipped the deity of Art, but employed his extraordinary poetical talents for the advancement of human good, and this too in an age when very few, if any, thought that Art could be consecrated to higher aims.

The End

1. In this connection study : Read, H., *Collected Essays*, 69-88 ; Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*. Herbert Read has successfully shown that philosophy is not inconsistent with poetry. He says that as poetry of this kind is the result of the triumph of reason in blending all knowledge and experience into one coherent system, it is very powerful. It expresses thoughts about whose significance we feel most intensely.

2. For this purpose read *Kalimāush Shu'arā* by Sackhush.

APPENDIX A

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
1.	زبانم قابل حمد خدا شد	2	Praise of the Holy Prophet.	<i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>	6
2.	سحر آئینه هم پرواز دل بود	2	Life universally found.	<i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>	8
3.	نصیحتگری و عطا آماده داشت	2	Love is all inclusive.	<i>Muhit-e-A'zam</i>	f.996
4.	شبی داشتم وجد بیتابی*	2	Symbolic nature of Bedil's wine.	do	F.104s.
5.	بگوش نغمه منج محفل راز	3	Water, fire, stone explained.	<i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>	3
6.	شبی کز گریه طونان کاریم بود	3	Poverty (فقر) as the essence of joy.	do	7
7.	سر قطره را هوا در گرفت	3	The part points to the whole.	<i>Muhit-e-A'zam</i>	7
8.	زنکبت سرشتان دل افسرده*	3	Meanness denounced.	do	7
9.	ز چشم طالبان دانش آهنگ	3	No lethargy in Nature.	<i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>	7
10.	گذر کرد معجون لیلای خیال	3	Beloved appears everywhere.	<i>Muhit-e-A'zam</i>	f.486
11.	شبی بر تیغ کوهی بود جایم	3	Every object manifests beauty and unity.	<i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>	10

Muhit-e-A'zam Ms., Punjab University library No. 1524. This manuscript has been used for all references in this Appendix to the Ms. copy of the *Masnavi*.

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
12.	شیبی بودم قدح بیمای خالی	3	The rich are stone-hearted as their gold is extracted from stones.	<i>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat</i>	12
13.	شیبی سرگرم عبرت شر نگاهم	4	Silence should come with death alone.	do	19
14.	اللهی تهمت آباد ظهوریم	4	Illusory nature of life.	<i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>	4
15.	شنیدم زنی صبح ز آئینه	4	Love of the phenomenal.	<i>Muhit-e-A'zam</i> Ms.	f.79a.
16.	شنیدم ادب کرد مولای روم	4	Fastidious regard for dress.	do	f.80a.
17.	اللهی حیرت مازم چه باشد	5	Prayer to God	<i>Tilism-e-Hairat</i>	5
18.	شیبی داشتم سیر میخانه	4	Self-annihilation.	<i>Muhit-e-A'zam</i> Ms.	f.95a
19.	یکی غافل از رنگ ما و توئی	5	Unity of Self.	do	f.108a
20.	محرگامی از چشم بیدار فهم	5	Unity in Plurality.	do	f.130b
21.	ز ارباب تحقیق صاحب دلی	5	Duality an illusion	do	f.134a
22.	شنیدم جریمی ترنم هرست	6	Time is fleeting.	do	f.137a
23.	زگلزار معنی یقی پشده	6	Discover the Self	do	f.140a
24.	شیبی روح منصورم آمد بخواب	6	Attributes nothing but Essence Itself.	do	f.148a
25.	به بازار شد ابلهی بے خبر	7	A credulous person.	do	f.149a
26.	فضولی بآئین کار آ کهان	7	A braggart.	do	f.156b
27.	ز تحقیق اسرار بیگانه	8	Existent Beings are God's words.	do	f.182a
28.	شیبی در طریقه فکر سخن	8	Speech prevails everywhere	do	f.182b
29.	بد شتی یکی از شکار افکنان	8	Self the sole Reality.	do	f.183b
30.	عشق از مشت خاک آدم ریخت	8	Universe created for Man.	<i>Irfaan</i>	1

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
31.	کودکی نان بدست بازی داشت	8	While abusing we abuse ourselves,	<i>'Irfān</i>	5
32.	ای تو هم غبار دشت چنین	8	Creation an illusion	do	7
33.	شوکت دستکاه هستی ما	9	Life an illusion.	do	10
34.	بود کم ظرف از خرد خالی	9	Over-carefulness is ruinous	do	13
35.	ای عدم زاده وجود طراز	9	The Universe is not-being.	do	41
36.	دو کمال انتظام امکانی	9	It is extremely difficult to be a Man.	do	42
37.	چيست اين باغ درسگاه رمی	10	Everything in the world is perishable.	do	43
38.	شعله جوشی بسر انجمنی	10	Self-annihilation.	do	45
39.	چيست فقر و غنائی ملک وجود	11	Poverty and riches explained.	do	49
40.	این یکی شمع مجلسی افروخت	11	Present more important than Future.	do	49
41.	زین بیابان که وحشت انجام است	11	Vain desires.	do	50
42.	مردکی طبع ناشکیبی داشت	11	do	do	52
43.	دخمه است این بساط گرد و غبار	11	Men are but corpses.	do	53
44.	بهر رنگ آفاق صرف است و پس	11	The Universe is an illusion.	<i>Muḥit-e-A'zam ?</i>	
45.	ای تردد نسب توکی چند	11	Trust in God not synonymous with idleness.	<i>'Irfān.</i>	53
46.	انبیا صاحب دموت بودند	12	Shameless people are but ghouls.	<i>Chahār 'Unsur</i>	10
47.	آدمی فطرت است و فطرت تام	12	Elegant expression is a great virtue.	do	14

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
48.	نه همی عقل راست سیر کمال.	12	The Fools too have a philosophy of their own.	'Irfān	?
49.	ای ز آفت بیخبر ما از توایم.	12	Duality has no ground.	Chahār 'Unsur	41
50.	اندیشه غیب ما، شهود است.	13	do	?	?
51.	ایلهی راز طبع جهل فسون.	13	Vain efforts.	'Irfān	55
52.	عاشقی چیست داغ بخروسی.	13	Concomitants of love.	do	67
53.	گره راز طبع حرص کمین.	13	A cat as the guardian of rats.	do	75
54.	گرچه انسان بکشف راز حسد.	14	What wheat means for Man?	do	78
55.	گرچه عذت حصار آتیه است.	14	Death inevitable and weakness criminal.	do	84
56.	آدمی تا بخرص پا افتد.	15	Greed denounced.	do	
57.	عاشقی بیدل جنون زده.	15	A cruel Beauty.	do	
58.	ای شراری گرفته دامن سنگ.	15	To lack worth is dangerous.	do	
59.	یکی دید در گنج میخانه.	15	The consuming Love.	Muḥit-e-A'zam Ms.	f.69a
60.	بدیر مغال دل ز کف داده.	15	do	do	f.75a
61.	این بزدان خیال زندگی.	16	Spiritless life a curse.	Chahār 'Unsur	69
62.	ای باسباب من و ما متهم.	16	Futility of worldly desires.	do	70
63.	صدائسیت پیچیده در کائنات.	16	Universe the result of (Be!)-itself the sound of a word.	do	68
				Muḥit-e-A'zam Ms.	f.180a
64.	درین بحر پر کسوت ما و تو.	16	The Universe is but God's word.	Chahār 'Unsur	43

Serial No.	Ishārāt-o-Hikāyāt Opening Lines	Page	Subject-matter	From where selected Name of the Book	Page
65.	وصف آنهاییکه شاه مطلق اند	16	Gnostics praised.	<i>Chāhar 'Unsur</i>	46
66.	چه سحر است این حسن نیرنگ و بود	16	The word (Bel)- has filled the void.	do	56
67.	دربین کنید شیشه ساد رنگ	17	The world is an illusion.	<i>Muḥit-e-A'zam</i>	
68.	تعالی الله چه طوفان بهار است	17	Description of Spring Season.	<i>Chāhār 'Unsur</i>	91
69.	ای زبان بخش مغفرت طلبی	18	Prayer to God.	?	?

APPENDIX B

Number of Letters addressed to Different Persons

No.	Names of the addressees	No. of letters addressed
1.	Nawāb <u>Shukrullah Khān</u> I	93
2.	'Ināyatullah <u>Shākir Khān</u>	48
3.	Lutfullah <u>Shukrullah Khān</u> II	36
4.	Karamullah 'Aqil <u>Khān</u>	15
5.	'Aqil <u>Khān Rāzī</u>	10
6.	Husain Qulī <u>Khān</u>	9
7.	Qayyūm <u>Khān</u> Fidāī son of 'Aqil <u>Khān Rāzī</u>	5
8.	<u>Chīn Qilch Khān</u> Nizāmūl Mulk	5
9.	Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat	4
10.	Mīrzā Zainul 'Abidin.	4
11.	Mīrzā 'Ibādullah	3
12.	Mīrzā Izad Bakhsh Rasā	3
13.	Mīrzā Fazāil son of Mīr Muḥammad Fazīl	2
14.	Mīrzā Muḥammad Na'im Bakhshī of Bahādur <u>Shāh</u>	2
15.	Prince A'zam <u>Shāh</u>	1
16.	Mīrzā Mu'in	1
17.	<u>Shaikh</u> Muḥammad Māh'	1
18.	Mīrzā Dāwar Yār	1
19.	Muḥammad Amīn 'Irfān	1
20.	<u>Shaikh</u> Ghulām Muḥy-ud-Dīn	1
21.	Mīr Rāzī Wahdat	1
22.	Mīān La'l Muḥammad	1
23.	Rasī' <u>Khān Bāzīl</u>	1
24.	Mīrzā Rūḥullah	1
25.	Mīrzā Salman	1
26.	Fattū <u>Khān</u>	1
27.	Mīrzā Kāmgār	1
28.	Husain 'Alī <u>Khān</u> Bahādur	1

No.	Names of the addressees to Different Persons	No. of letters addressed
29.	Mīr 'Abduṣ Ṣamad <u>Sakhun</u>	... 1
30.	Mullā Bāqir Gīlānī	... 1
31.	Mīān <u>Shāhid</u>	... 1
32.	Mīr <u>Sharaf-ud-Dīn</u>	... 1
33.	Mīrzā Muḥsin	... 1
34.	Munshī Qāil <u>Khān</u>	... 1
35.	Mīrzā <u>Khusrau</u> Beg	... 1
36.	Qāzī 'Abdur Raḥīm	... 1
37.	Mīrzā Abul Wiqār	... 1
38.	Mīrzā Fāzil Beg Turk	... 1
39.	Mīrzā Abul <u>Khair</u>	... 1
40.	To a relative	... 2
41.	Anonymous	... 7
Total		... 273

N.B. The longest letter was written to Mīrzā Faḡāl.

APPENDIX C

Showing where the Nikat can be found in *Chāhār 'Unsur*

Number of the Nukta	Nikat in <i>Kullīyāte Safdarī</i>	Page	Page of <i>Chāhār</i> <i>'Unsur</i> where found
N.B. — Nikat from I to XVIII could not be traced from <i>Chāhār 'Unsur</i>			
XIX ...	طبایع را تقلید اوضاع یکدیگر	8	27
XX ...	عارفی داشت درس نسخه دید	9	—
XXI ...	افعال مردان را بر مقدمه اقوال	9	—
XXII ...	صحبت دانا در عالمیکه	9	15
XXIII ...	نفس رحمانی که اصطلاح اهل تحقیق	9	61
XXIV ...	آتش در طبع جماد	10	61
XXV ...	چشم پوشیده هر چند فردوس	10	52
XXVI ...	آئینه تحقیق مخبر است	11	72
XXVII ...	نویسهای طرز عبارات	11	74
XXVIII ...	گل کردن رموز غیب و شهادت	12	69
XXIX ...	تا کمر بشکست خود نه بسته	13	25
XXX ...	آدمی بعلت آفسون امل	13	—
XXXI ...	زبان لاف را آنقدر	13	—
XXXII ...	آدمی رشته استعداد است	14	45
XXXIII ...	حکم الفقراء کنفس واحده	15	44
XXXIV ...	آنچه از نسخه دل فهم کنی	15	27
XXXV ...	روح انسانی جوهریست بسیط	15	8
XXXVI ...	ساز حقیقت از دست مجاز ترا شان	16	10
XXXVII ...	عالمی بوضع خود خورمند است	16	11
XXXVIII ...	مقصود از سیر گریبان	17	51
XXXIX ...	طینت آدمی بحکم الناس لیام	17	51
XL ...	اعیان محفل امکانی را	17	92
XLI ...	باهمه بی تعینی	18	—
XLII ...	معنی کرم در جمیع احوال	18	79
XLIII ...	تحال ظهور احوال	18	72

Number of the Nukta	Nikāt in <i>Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī</i>	Page	Page of <i>Chahār</i> <i>Unṣur</i> where found
XLIV ...	در عنصر آباد کیفیت ظهور	19	70
XLV ...	در چار سوی کیفیات ظهور	19	61
XLVI ...	تأثیر در طبایع ارباب کرم	19	79
XLVII ...	گفتگوی ارواح و مثال	19	92
XLVIII ...	تا نسخه اندیشه هستی ما و من	19	93
XLIX ...	عالم ایجاد سیرگه جلوه اخلاق	19	93
L ...	از بزرگی برسیدند که بحکم ان مع العسر	20	80
LI ...	کیفیت سخارا بنزاکشی سرشته اند	20	81
LII ...	شیراز اجزای حراس	20	99
LIII ...	معنی نمایان نسخه اسرار	20	12
LIV ...	روح انسانی شاهدیست لا ربیبی	21	81
LV ...	کمال الشهی که جامع حقیقت جمال و جلال	21	33
LVI ...	ورود سخن نزول ملائک است	22	60
LVII ...	از بزرگی برسیدند خواب افضل است	23	53
LVIII ...	عالم از درشنیهای طبایع	23	20
LIX ...	از زمین تا آسمان یک در فیض	24	36
LX ...	حسن اگر بستایش آئینه پردازد	24	44
LXI ...	غیب مطابق مرتبه است	24	53
LXII ...	جمع خلایق بحکم مصلحت طبیعی	25	79
LXIII ...	اینکه عالمی میخواهیم صفحه دلی	25	58
LXIV ...	غافل از معنی می گفت	26	60
LXV ...	حصول نعمت کمال بی وساطت	26	24
LXVI ...	تحریر و تقریر مراتب اکثری	26	43
LXVII ...	از اراده حق چیزی بنظهور	27	70
LXVIII ...	توجه خاطر با الفت فقر	27	62
LXIX ...	صعبترین حالتی که هیچ متر صدی	28	—
LXX ...	تجربه کاران امتحان کده شعور	28	100

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Errata

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
2	Footnote 8	Page 3 supra	Page 1 supra
3	8	Behar	Bohar
4	Footnote 6	Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra	Pages 16, 21, 23, 25 infra
8	12	occassion	occasion
13	10	چشم تراش	چشم تواش
14	30	exercising	exorcising
14	Footnote 2	Page 11 supra	Page 9 supra
14	" 5	Page 5 supra	Page 3 supra
17	8	هست اندر تری تو	هست اندر توی تو
18	21	در قضا افتاده است	در قضا افتاده است
18	31	hidden	hidden
19	24	Qalandar	Mirzā Qalandar
19	Footnote 5	See supra	See page 9 supra
20	26	از خور رفتنی	از خود رفتنی
21	26	جنیت جنونی	جنیت جنونی
21	26	منبر هوش	منبر هوس
22	3	او عزم	بر عزم
22	Footnote 2	Page 33 infra	Page 23 infra
27	32	گرد در خط	در گرد خط
27	Footnote 4	See infra	See page 33 infra
34	" 1	page 22 supra	page 15 supra
34	23	ناوداننارا	ناودانهارا
35	6	tricles	trickles
37	Footnote 1	See supra	See page 15 supra
37	" 2	See supra	See pages 15-17, 25-27 supra
38	" 1	see supra	See page 21 supra
39	3	هیچ وجه	هیچ وجه
39	36	contests.	contests,
43	Footnote 3	See infra	See page 93 infra
49	11	مردن جیب	مردن جیب
50	7	Intelligence	Intelligences.

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
62	14	کشته زربخ	کشته زربخ
63	18	سبزه حسن	سبزه حسن
69	9	بدعا	مدعا
74	32	Shākir	Shākir Khān
75	29	public	pubic
99	7	خاکندان	خاکدان
99	Footnote 1, line 13	نژی	نژی
102	5	better depository	better
112	Footnote 1, line 8	pearl	pearl
137	7	لاله ایم	لاله بهم
137	35	herefore	therefore
140	last line	پارسه	پارسه
141	last but one line	سربورد	سربورد
141	last line	نگاهی	نگاهی و
142	2	figned	figned
142	5	بگردد	بگردد
145	24	کف الخیل	رکف الخیل
147	3	شمه سم رسد	شمه سم رسد
149	15	سبک شناسی	سبک هندی
149	Footnote 2	pages 43 and 34 supra	pages 40 and 52 supra
149	" 3	pages 133-5 supra	pages 131-33 supra
150	" 3	page 119 supra	page 83 supra
156	" 3	page 134 supra	page 155 supra
168	2	لردون متقلب	لردون متقلب
171	11	(The fair ones)	(The fair ones),
173	Footnote 1	page 152 supra	page 106 supra
173	" 4	page 172 supra	page 123 supra
175	" 2	page 190 supra	page 136 supra
176	" 3	(Missing)	Iqbāl, Zarb-e-Kālmī, p. 121
179	" 1	page 190 supra	page 136 supra
180	" 2	page 55 supra	page 39 supra
180	" 4	page 171 supra	page 123 supra
181	" 5	page 45 supra	page 33 supra
182	" 5	pages 21-24 supra	pages 13-18 supra
187	last line	ad smell	and smell
189	Footnote 1	page 121 supra	page 84 supra
189	" 4	page 60 supra	page 43 supra
189	" 5	page 56 supra	page 40 supra
190	" 2	page 84 supra	page 58 supra
190	" 3	page 60 supra	page 42 supra
194	" 1	page 91 supra	page 64 supra
195	" 4	page 89 supra	page 61 supra
195	" 6	page 91 supra	page 63 supra
196	" 3	page 92 supra	page 64 supra

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
200	11	check	cheek
200	31	paradises	paradise
202	Footnote 2	page 247 supra	page 183 supra
204	7	برعرش	برغیرش
205	Footnote 5	page 85 supra	page 59 supra
208	19	eternity	eternity
208	Footnote 5	Ma'ārif Library	Ma'ārif Library
212	27	rope-ladder	rope-ladder
218	Footnote 2	p. 360 supra	p. 265 supra
219	" 1	pages 180-2 supra	pages 129-30 supra
219	" 3	page 68 supra	page 47 supra
222	" 5	رود تصفیہ یار	رود بصفہ یار
226	" 2	pages 47-9 supra	page 52 supra
227	36	Qasā'id	Qasida
227	Footnote 4	page 247 supra	pages 183, 202-3 supra
229	13	دل مند	دل مند
229	Footnote 3	page 68 supra	pages 48-49 supra
231	" 6	page 14 supra	page 10 supra
232	" 2	page 247 supra	page 183 supra
233	" 3	pages 263, 286 supra	pages 209, 213 supra
238	" 3	page 170 supra	page 121-2 supra
241	" 1	page 142 supra	page 93 supra
251	" 2	page 142 supra	page 99 supra
242	Last line	man of integrity	men of integrity
250	Footnote 1	page 133 supra	pages 21, 93 supra
250	" 3	page 133 supra	page 67, supra
250	" 4	page 85 supra	page 59, supra
250	" 5	page 133 supra	page 93 supra
251	24	factors	facts
251	Footnote 4, line 3	<i>Khazīnatul Asfiyā</i>	<i>Khazīnatul Asfiyā</i>
251	" 5	page 36 supra	page 26 supra
254	19	مخفل اغیان	مخفل اعیان
254	Footnote 1	page 39 supra	page 27 supra
254	" 2	page 76 supra	page 53 supra
255	" 4	page 258 supra	page 185 supra
256	26	نظر تشی	نظر تش
256	Footnote 3	page 74 supra	page 51 supra
258	" 7	page 33 supra	page 93 supra
258	" 8	page 64 supra	page 45 supra
258	" 10	page 61 supra	page 43 supra
258	" 11	page 60 supra	page 42 supra
259	" 1	pages 74, 348 supra	pages 51, 256 supra
259	" 1, line 3	the third	the third 'Unsur
261	" 1	page 45 supra	page 77 supra
263	" 3	page 137 supra	page 96 supra
263	" 5	page 115 supra	page 80 supra

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
264	18	آورد و بودیم	آوردہ ہزدیم
265	Footnote 4	page 200 supra	page 145 supra
266	" 2	page 150 supra	page 105 supra
268	18	subject	subjects
269	Footnote 2	pages 46-7 supra	page 33 supra
272	33	Ibāul-'Arabī	Ibn al-'Arabī
273	1	'Ārā	Ārā
274	9	Mughal	Mughul Kings
274	Footnote 1	page 32 supra	page 22 supra
274	" 4	page 137 supra	page 96 supra
283	" 1	page 284 supra	page 208 supra
284	" 1	page 274 supra	page 202 supra

